BREAKFAST WITH SUKARNO DESMOND SMITH

THE
NATION

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'Abundance' in Perspective

SHOULD MEN COMPETE WITH MACHINES?

ROBERT THEOBALD

The Beneficent CIA

ROBERT G. SHERRILL

PARIS FALLS INTO THIS WORLD PAUL ZWEIG

BRONOWSKI AND THE IDENTITY CRISIS FREDERICK H. GARDNER

'THE DISCOVERY OF TIME' CHESTER JOHNSON

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LETTERS

phone hoodlums

Brewster, N.Y.

DEAR SIRS: In your editorial, "Phone Pollution" [Apr. 18] you say, "The assumption among Army personnel is that [abusive or obscene telephone calls to relatives or survivors of soldiers, especially their wives or widows] are the work of leftist agitators, but it is at least as plausible that they are a device employed by right-wing extremists who wish to defame the peace movement." This is a field in which one can only conjecture, but I submit that on the basis of the available evidence the latter hypothesis is by far the more plausible.

I have taken part in several anti-Vietnamese war demonstrations and have been impressed by the orderly and well-mannered demeanor of the participants. In contrast, the hecklers look, talk, write and act like hoodlums. A typical sign carried by a counterdemonstrator in New York on March 26 read: "Kill a Commie for Christ." No one in the roughhouse crowd seemed to find it offensive. The veterans who led the parade, some of whom had their grandchildren with them, were singled out as "queers," among other epithets. . . . The use of the common sexual terms for general abuse is, of course, of ancient standing but, in its current political form it . . . may furnish a clue to the telephone problem. We know that nonpolitical, obscene telephone calls to women are a widespread nuisance, and some individuals may combine this form of sexual gratification (although this may be subordinate to a desire to shock) with the homicidal urges which are manifest in the public behavior of the counterdemonstrators. The motives and psychopathology may vary, but certainly if I were a policeman I would regard the counterdemonstrators as much more likely to include miscreants of this type than the anti-war demonstrators.

Coming to your second point: penalizing telephonic misbehavior is complicated, even when the call can be speedily traced, by the difficulty of positively identifying the caller. The recently publicized "voiceprint," or sound spectogram technique developed by Lawrence G. Kersta at the Bell Telephone Laboratories may mark progress in this direction. I am not enthusiastic about this acoustic analogue of fingerprinting, since it is just as likely to be used against decent people who are dissenters from the socially acceptable manias and delusions, but it is a possible weapon against telephone misdemeanors, as well as against more serious forms of crime.

Carl Dreher

facts on media

New York City

DEAR SIRS: Desmond Smith, reviewing two official reports under the headline "On Media Trouble" [*The Nation*, Apr. 4], is full of praise for the high information quotient of government reports. The same cannot be said of Mr. Smith's own accuracy. His quotation of the "conservative" but unattributed estimate that one-third of the Congress owns television or radio interests is offered to explain what he believes is the broadcaster domination of the Congress. The fact is that the most recent review of licenses somewhat less than a year ago shows that only fourteen Representatives and nine Senators have interests in broadcast facilities. The difference between Mr. Smith's 33 per cent and the actual 4 per cent can hardly be accounted for by faulty arithmetic.

Nor is it true that "nearly half of the U.S. . . . is served by single television stations." Over 90 per cent of all U.S. television families have service from at least three networks. Mr. Smith's "glance at the television

(Continued on page 556)

EDITORIALS

Not So Ancient History

There was drama and historic interest in Hubert Humphrey's participation in this year's annual meeting of Americans for Democratic Action. The Vice President was one of the founders of ADA, and for seventeen years one of its luminaries. Prior to his April appearance, the ADA delegates had adopted a strong resolution bitterly assailing U. S. policy in Vietnam, calling for an end of bombing in the North and for de-escalation in the South, and expressing the view that this country had only a "marginal interest" in Vietnam. The gap between the founder-sponsor and the delegates was wide indeed; in the corridors there were mutterings of "traitor," "cheer leader for LBJ" and like anathemas. But the convention managers handled the public aspects tactfully and the Vice President was received in a polite and friendly fashion.

To do the Vice President justice, he said in 1950 and in 1955 essentially what he says today. From the ADA convention he went to the more convivial atmosphere of the Associated Press in New York, and the hard line he took before the newspaper publishers was consistent with his earlier views on Communist revolutions. For all his many virtues on domestic issues, Humphrey, like his boss, has always been addicted to "reflex anti-communism."

As for the ADA, however, the clash between its official position and the Johnson Administration is something that cannot be bridged. The ADA had to condemn the American role in Vietnam or lose its reason for being. Humphrey, as spokesman for the Johnson Administration, felt compelled to go down the line for its Vietnamese policy; if he had any qualms, he kept them to himself. At the Associated Press luncheon he did not even resort to the pious Johnson rhetoric about going anywhere, doing anything, for peace. He did not say, as many supporters of the President have said, that it was a mistake to take sides militarily in Vietnam in the first place. "We are there," he said. "I'm not going to argue about that, because that's ancient history and can't be repealed."

Ancient? To the ADA delegates, it seems extremely current, as it does to many others. Essentially, the membership of ADA now says of Asia what non-ADA liberals—and some conservatives (the late Ernest T. Weir, for example)—said about Europe in the late forties and fifties: that the danger of a Communist military take-over was vastly exaggerated, and that the cold war was in large part a make-work and make-profit enterprise. Indeed, judging by the present views of George Kennan and others, it is clear that the non-ADA liberals and radicals were closer to the truth than the ADA.

Another reason this is not ancient history is that it bears on the future course of American foreign policy. John Kenneth Galbraith, in a brilliant address at the ADA convention, made a plea for a foreign policy that takes a "somewhat less paranoiac view of our mission in the world." Liberals, he said, "should stand equally opposed to the divine right of wealth and the divine right in the field of foreign policy of Sullivan and Cromwell; Millbank, Tweed, Hope, Hadley and McCoy; Lucius Clay; Henry Stimson, Nicholas Murray

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Butler and the more impeccably traditional members of the permanent foreign-policy establishment." He went on to say that Dean Rusk would no doubt wish to be associated with "the New York syndicate" as would Dean Acheson. "Having lived on the same planet with the Russians without coming to blows for fifty years, there is a growing disposition to keep on trying." But to the old establishment or syndicate, this is heresy. To them peaceful coexistence is a "snare and a delusion. Occasionally, and I think increasingly, the State Department responds to suggestions for keeping peace with cautious approval."

As to Vietnam, it is "not important to us" and is neither a bastion of freedom nor a testing place for democracy. The foreign-policy outlook of the old establishment has been based on the premise that "any non-Communist leader, however repugnant, would, as a matter of expediency, have to be supported against the Communist conspiracy." To have all this said and warmly applauded at an ADA convention is striking evidence that the assumptions which have rigidly controlled American foreign policy during the cold-war period are being rejected by increasingly influential sections of the public, and that a change of direction is imminent.

The Peace Candidates: 1966

In a run-down published by *The Washington Post* (April 25) Julius Duscha names twenty-six peace candidates—five for the Senate, fifteen for the House (all but two are Democrats), Harold Stassen running for governor in Pennsylvania, and a few others. We would add William Bennett, a candidate for attorney general of California, who has taken a forceful stand against the war in Vietnam; Paul Gregg, a candidate in the 37th Congressional District in California, and William P. Martin, a candidate for Congress from Maryland. There are doubtless others.

Peace candidates who entered the lists in previous years have not fared too well. In 1958, for instance, five such candidates gained seats in the House: Byron Johnson, Charles O. Porter, Leonard G. Wolf, William Meyer and George A. Kasem (see "Peace Wins An Election" by William P. Irwin, *The Nation*, December 6, 1958). All of these men succumbed in 1960, but it should be noted that they were elected from normally Republican districts in the Democratic ground swell of 1958; also to be noted is the fact that in 1960 all of them ran ahead of John F. Kennedy in their districts. H. Stuart Hughes polled a disappointing vote in his bid for the Senate (from Massachusetts) in 1962; he received 50,013 votes or 2.3 per cent of the total. But Hughes was a victim of the Cuban missile crisis and wound up with only the hard-core "peace" vote.

However, new factors have emerged since 1958. A general endorsement of peace was never a very strong issue, and "disarmament" falls into the same category. This year the candidates have a specific, highly charged issue—Vietnam—on which the nation is seriously divided. The general international situation is more advanced: note, for example, the widening split in the world Communist movement. This year there are more peace candidates than ever before and the geographical focus has shifted; the largest number of "peace" candidates is now to be found in California. And

IN THIS ISSUE

May 9, 1966

EDITORIALS

538

ARTICLES

542 Foundation Pipe Lines: The Beneficent CIA — *Robert G. Sherrill*

544 'Abundance' in Perspective: Should Men Compete With Machines? — *Robert Theobald*

550 ESP: Science or Delusion? — *Daniel Cohen*

553 Breakfast With Sukarno — *Desmond Smith*

BOOKS & THE ARTS

557 Paris Falls Again—Into This World — *Paul Zweig*

559 Identity Crisis — *Frederick H. Gardner*

561 Tortuous Shore — *Chester Johnson*

563 The Stone and the Sermon — *Shaun O'Connell*

564 Records — *Benjamin Boretz*

565 Reading a Book of Poems (poem) — *Roger Mitchell*

567 Crossword Puzzle — *Frank W. Lewis*

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while most of those running this year are amateurs, some of them are waging campaigns that reflect an awareness of the need to use unconventional techniques in order to reach the widest possible audience. For example, Robert Scheer, the foreign editor of *Ramparts*, who is campaigning against Rep. Jeffrey Cohelan in the 7th C. D. of California which includes the Berkeley area, enlivens meetings with "topless dancers," night-club entertainers and other *divertissements*. Scheer, incidentally, has the endorsement of the California Democratic Council in his district, which he won by a vote of 555 to 148. To be sure, Cohelan did not seek the endorsement but then he knew he could not get it. Another *Ramparts* candidate is the publisher, Edward Keating, who is making his bid in the 11th C. D. against Republican J. Arthur Younger. The California primary date is June 7.

The campaign in Oregon (primary May 24) and Michigan (primary August 2) are of particular interest. In Oregon, Mark Hatfield, the Republican candidate for the Senate, started out lukewarm on the Vietnamese issue but his criticism has become sharper as the campaign has progressed. Howard Morgan, who agrees with the Morse-Fulbright position, is running in the Democratic primary for the Senate seat to be vacated by the retirement of Sen. Maurine Neuberger. His opponent is Rep. Robert Duncan, who is favored in Washington. Morgan, a former state Senator and corporation commissioner, also formerly a member of the Federal Power Commission, is getting the full support of Senator Wayne Morse, who heretofore has always stood aloof from primary contests. In Oregon, also, Charles O. Porter is making another try for the Congressional seat he lost in 1960. In Michigan, Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh of Detroit is opposing former Governor G. Mennen Williams for the Democratic Senatorial nomination. Cavanagh wants China seated in the UN, is highly critical of U. S. policy in Vietnam, inveighs against a foreign policy that is locked into the past, and calls for new ideas, which in itself is heretical. He also challenges the comforting guns-*and*-butter thesis.

The handicap of the peace candidates is obvious: most of them are bucking the established order. Some are campaigning exclusively on the peace issue, and any single-issue campaign is difficult to bring off. Also, a sharp change in the situation in Vietnam might prove upsetting. Even so, this latest attempt by rank-and-file Americans to disrupt the bipartisan consensus on the cold war is a hopeful sign.

Surgical Spectacular

Few medical science stories have been more spectacularly reported than Texas surgeon Michael E. DeBakey's heart operation on Marcel De Rudder, an unemployed 65-year-old Illinois miner. Few have been more inaccurately, more prematurely, or more tastelessly reported.

Readers of wire-service accounts learned that the surgeon "inserted an artificial heart for the first time into a human being," that the patient was suffering from a damaged aortic valve, that Dr. DeBakey decided to "plant" the "heart" only when he opened the left side of the patient's heart and saw "clotting" and "significant damage" to the mitral valve.

In fact no "artificial heart" was used; the patient's aortic valve was not involved; the decision to try the device was made in advance because of the patient's severe pulmonary hypertension; it was not "inserted" or "planted"; and the attempt was the third, not the first, in which such devices have been tried in human beings.

What Dr. DeBakey actually employed was an externally placed, externally powered, single-chamber "left ventricular by-pass." Its function: to take a portion of the oxygenated blood entering the left atrium from the lungs and pump it directly into the aorta. Normally such arterial blood passes through the mitral valve into the left ventricle, which then contracts, expelling the blood into the aorta. Dr. DeBakey's device is intended to relieve some of the left ventricle's work load. As an emergency measure, he first tried it nearly three years ago. The by-pass worked for four days, but the patient died of other complications.

Last February, another attempt to use an auxiliary ventricle was undertaken at Maimonides Hospital, Brooklyn, New York, by Dr. Adrian Kantrowitz. It was kept secret. The device he tried is really implanted within the chest, but it, too, relies upon an external source of power. Dr. Kantrowitz installed his device in a patient whose heart muscle had been fatally weakened by alcoholic myocarditis. The patient recovered consciousness, talked with his doctors, and seemed to be doing well. The Kantrowitz pump apparently played its part well too, but the cirrhotic liver of the patient—whose name, unlike that of Dr. DeBakey's patient, has never been disclosed—proved unable to stand the strain of surgery. He died in twenty-four hours. Dr. Kantrowitz defended Dr. DeBakey's decision to try his device and wished "both him and his patient the best of luck." Mr. De Rudder did not have much. He remained unconscious after the operation; on the fifth postoperative day he died.

Meanwhile, he had become a *cause célèbre*. Days before the operation was scheduled, TV, radio, wire-service and newspaper reporters had been alerted to its imminence. A special pressroom was set up. When closed-circuit TV proved cumbersome in the crowded operating room, a surgeon with microphone was assigned to describe the procedure step by dramatic step. The scene, wrote one reporter, was "more like a big space shoot" than a surgical operation.

Curiously, these elaborate preparations seem only to have compounded the amount of mis- and noninformation emanating from Houston. A spate of errors was put on the wires, but not the fact that the operation was performed just two days after the deadline for submitting bids on six development contracts related to the DeBakey and Kantrowitz devices had passed at the National Heart Institute in Washington. More than $5 million in research and industrial development has already gone into these devices.

This is tolerably small business compared to the long-term stakes. Of the 900,000 or so Americans who suffer heart attacks yearly, 400,000, some experts believe, may one day need a perfected version of one or the other device—or, conceivably, of some auxiliary not yet developed.

Dr. DeBakey announced last month that no device perfected by his group would be patented. That was as much in keeping with medical tradition as the public relations furor at Houston was not, but two larger questions continue to cast an unhappy aura over the Houston operation.

The first of these concerns the rampant competition that plainly inspired the "space-shoot" atmosphere at Houston,

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both on the occasion of the surgery and after Mr. De Rudder's death. One may, and many quietly do, question whether the pressures thereby brought to bear upon those who must decide what research shall and what shall not be supported are conducive to calm judgment.

The other has to do with Mr. De Rudder as a particular patient and as a representative of patients. Was it wise to subject him and his wife—who first learned of the operation from the press—to such fanfare? Is it ethical?

"It has been a long-standing scientific tradition to report the results of one's research first to one's professional colleagues," said a cardiac surgeon who, like most, preferred not to be quoted by name. The reasons for such a tradition are founded both in humane considerations concerning the individual patient and scientists' skepticism of "first blush" results. They prefer to examine such experiments in the undistorted light of unpublicized, precise reports. In this way, fewer false hopes are raised among the desperately ill and, conversely, less despair is engendered when a trial results in less than complete success.

The CIA Above the Law

The CIA, known around the world for taking the law into its own hands, has now demonstrated that it considers itself above legal restraint even at home. This new recklessness emerges from a suit brought by one Eerik Heine, an Estonian expatriate who claims a long history as an anti-Communist freedom fighter. The defendant is one Juri Raus, another Estonian expatriate who admits to being an agent for the CIA. Raus had charged publicly that Heine, far from being a patriot hero, is really an agent of the KGB, the Soviet secret police. Heine sued Raus for slander. Some $100,000—to say nothing of Heine's reputation—rides on the judgment. The case is now pending before Judge Roszel C. Thomsen in the Federal District Court in Baltimore.

Raus does not deny that he made the charges. But—incredibly—he maintains that he made them on orders of the CIA and, as a result, has no obligation to prove them. The CIA acknowledges that it sought to buy off the victim in an out-of-court settlement. But Heine, to the agency's dismay, has insisted on a trial to clear his name.

Surfacing to protect its man, the CIA filed an official affidavit with the court which says that "Raus was in possession of information furnished to him by the Central Intelligence Agency, and when he spoke concerning the plaintiff on such occasions he was acting within the scope and course of his employment by the Agency on behalf of the United States." Raus's attorneys argue that "under these circumstances, there arises in favor of the defendant an absolute privilege which precludes, even under a showing of malice, any possibility of recovery by the plaintiff."

How similar this contention sounds to the claim of the Stuart monarch, James I, who declared in 1609 that kings are "judges over all their subjects and in all causes and yet accountable to none but God only. They have power to exalt low things and abase high things, and make of their subjects, like men at the chess, a pawn to take a bishop or a knight. . . ." It was this contention, of course, which led to England's revolutionary war and the affirmation—once and for all, we had thought—that kings (to say nothing of CIA agents) were subject to law.

The implication of the CIA's assertion is enormous. If not challenged, it means that an agency of government can inflict any manner of harm upon the citizenry and remain—upon claim, however shaky, of overriding national interest—immune from responsibility. The CIA says that a more elaborate defense might expose its entire counterespionage apparatus in the United States. Even if the allegation were justified (and there is no way to verify it), it scarcely entitles the CIA to stomp on people's rights in the process.

The CIA argues that the Supreme Court affirmed its power to libel Heine in a 5-to-4 decision (*Barr* v. *Mateo*) in 1959. The decision, one of the Warren Court's less felicitous ones, established the risky principle that an official could not be sued for libel committed in the course of duty. It did not say—which is what the CIA contends it says—that the government has a right to resort to slander as a conscious instrument of policy. It did not, furthermore, say the government could haughtily withhold any defense, on the ground of executive privilege. Attorney General Katzenbach, happily, has refused to lend his personal authority to the CIA position. Even Judge Thomsen, who has been sympathetic to the CIA's dilemma, was forced to observe: "I think that the plaintiff is entitled; assume the plaintiff is a Communist, assume he is everything you say, everybody has some rights in this country." The question, obviously, cannot go unchallenged. It is to be hoped that this case will soon find its way to the Supreme Court.

In Loco Parentis

To what extent should an employer, or an institution of learning, take the place of parents in enforcing strict standards of sexual purity? The colleges are going one way, J. Edgar Hoover's FBI the other. The crime busters and the deans are put in striking opposition in two stories in *The New York Times*, April 24 and 26. One, based on a survey by Jonathan Randal, finds Grundyism in precipitate retreat at the Ivy League universities; the other, written by Frank P. Graham, seems to show that the soul of Queen Victoria has lodged in the body of Mr. Hoover. This has nothing to do with security; it is solely a question of morality. A spokesman for the Bureau says: "We have hundreds of young men and women coming to work for the FBI in Washington. We must be sure that their parents can be confident that they and their colleagues are living under exemplary conditions."

The exemplary conditions include, in Graham's words, "an enormously effective surveillance system" that reaches down to the lowest clerical employees and requires a prompt report by any employee who discovers an indiscretion committed by another employee. If two FBI employees have the misfortune to become lovers, each must promptly inform on the other. If they neglect to do so, they are likely to be found out anyway, since most unmarried employees live in apartment houses "recommended" by the Bureau.

Thus, Thomas F. Carter, a 25-year-old Air Force veteran, was dismissed from his clerical job after his "girl friend of long standing from Texas" stayed overnight in the two-bedroom apartment he occupied with three other FBI employees. All four men were required to sign statements

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giving "specific details." Eight days later a letter signed by Mr. Hoover was handed to Mr. Carter, dismissing him as of that day for "conduct unbecoming an employee of this bureau." He is now suing Mr. Hoover to get his job back.

What a contrast between the high moral standards of the FBI and the permissiveness of the universities! At Columbia the administration has dropped the rule that the door of a student's dormitory room must be left slightly ajar when he is entertaining a woman visitor. She may stay behind a totally closed door until midnight on Friday and 1 A.M. on Sunday. At Yale, Dean George S. May says flatly: "We are not interested in the private lives of students as long as they remain private." At Cornell, Ruth Darling, the assistant dean for residence halls, says: "We don't ask what they do and don't want to know."

At one university a student was discovered in bed with a girl in his dormitory room "well after visiting hours." The university notified his parents, who couldn't see anything wrong with junior's behavior—whether being in bed with the girl or being in bed with her after hours, the story does not say. Time was when a student thus caught in *flagrante delicto* would have been summarily expelled, but now the university ponders motivation. "For example," the reporter explains, "if the couple have been going together, were in love, had been to bed before, then such factors would amount to extenuating circumstances."

The defense of having been in bed before may prove especially attractive. Without any implication of sinful behavior on the part of Mr. Carter and his long-standing girl friend from Texas, it is evident that a variant of this defense failed to move J. Edgar Hoover. It is also evident that Mr. Hoover's parietal rules are not universally popular with the help. The Justice Department discloses that whereas the turnover of government employees as a whole in Washington is under 20 per cent, the FBI lost more than 34 per cent of its Washington employees last year.

FOUNDATION PIPE LINES

THE BENEFICENT CIA

ROBERT G. SHERRILL

Washington

One of the "in" games in Washington is uncovering the funny business of the Central Intelligence Agency, especially as it relates to funneling money through a maze of foundations for the purpose of shaping foreign policy. Last month Group Research, Inc., a fact-finding organization based in Washington, made a high score in this game by picking up a cold trail (a couple of years old, thanks to the Internal Revenue Service's tardiness in assimilating and releasing such data). It was nevertheless a significant trail, because it appeared to lead to the American Friends of the Middle East, an anti-Zionist, pro-Arab, organization; and to the Cuban Freedom Committee, sponsor of "Free Cuba Radio" and certainly the most belligerent anti-Castro radio series broadcast out of this country, whose advisory board includes several galloping right wingers.

Followers of this mystery serial may recall that two years ago Rep. Wright Patman of Texas, investigating the CIA-Kaplan Fund-IRS arrangement, demanded information relating to eight other foundations. [See editorial, "Foundations as 'Fronts,'" *The Nation,* September 14, 1964.] The Kaplan Fund, he had discovered by stubborn detective work, was a conduit for CIA funds, and these other eight foundations had been contributing to the Kaplan Fund; so Patman wanted to know if they were part of the CIA pipe line.

At that point he ran into what he called "a hint that I had better not touch this because it involves foreign operations of the CIA." Taking the hint, he rang down the curtain and the rest of his inquiry was finished in executive session. The public learned nothing about the eight foundations: the Michigan Fund, the Gotham Foundation, the Price Fund, the Edsel Fund, the Andrew Hamilton Fund, the Bordon Trust, the Beacon Fund and the Kentifield Fund. Now, as a result of Group Research, Inc.'s investigations, one corner of the bureaucratic curtain has been lifted to reveal as neat a performance of fund swapping as one will find in the IRS files.

Seven of these foundations (the Michigan Fund does not seem to be involved in this ploy) have been giving money to Christianform and/or the American Friends of the Middle East. The benefactions to the American Friends were transmitted through the Brown Foundation, the Jones-O'Donnell Fund and the Marshall Foundation, and these three, plus six of the seven original donors, also gave to Christianform; the Andrew Hamilton Fund gave directly to Christianform but to none of the three intermediary foundations, and Gotham gave nothing directly to Christianform. If these transactions sound complicated, it must be remembered that fiscal simplicity was probably not the first consideration. The point to be noted is that seven of the eight foundations that are known to have been pumping money into the Kaplan Fund have now been found aiding Christianform and the American Friends. How, then, do the recipients use the money?

Christianform is an organization that dates back to 1949. Its founder and president is Nicholas T. Nonnenmacher (Major, Air Force, ret.), former assistant editor of the right-wing publication *Human Events.* For four years he was staff specialist of the American Legion, assigned to its subversive activities committee, and is now administrative assistant to Glenn Andrews of Alabama, one of the more unreconstructed Congressmen. Nonnenmacher's latest achievement was writing the script for the movie, *Peace or Communism,* which gives the peaceniks the usual rough treatment. One notable adviser to Christianform has been Paul Crouch, the professional ex-Communist who left his smudge on several Congressional investigations.

The income of their organization having mysteriously soared from $3,100 in 1959 to more than $250,000 in 1961,

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the patriots of Christianform spawned the Cuban Freedom Committee and went into the nonprofit business of propagandizing the Cubans and other Latin Americans via three radio stations—WGBS in Miami, WKWF in Key West and WWL in New Orleans. More than 200 hours of propaganda are broadcast from these stations each month, and canned portions of the program are rebroadcast over twenty stations in Latin America.

As with any heated propagandizing effort, Free Cuba Radio often gets tangled in its own tales. Its promotional brochure notes that "today in Cuba in moats, centuries-old fortresses, jails and concentration camps . . . under indescribably unsanitary and filthy conditions, exist more than 50,000 political prisoners, subjected to torture. . . ." Yet in a press release from the organization, one learns that a Cuban "newly arrived in the United States, who was jailed for forty-three days in Havana, related how he and his fellow prisoners listened to the Cuban Freedom Committee programs right under the noses of the guards." (Prisoners were allowed standard radios to listen to Castro and the Communist propaganda.) With what other luxuries are those torture chambers equipped?

However, *aficionados* of Free Cuba Radio are less likely to go to it for precise history than they are for the kind of humor heard on the program, "If It Weren't So Tragic, It Would Be Comic!" A typical quip on a recent program:

> Announcer: After he heard of the police raids Fidel had initiated against drinking and other vices, Raul, his brother, went to a doctor and begged: "Please, doctor, go tell Fidel that what I have isn't a vice."

Officials of Free Cuba Radio believe that Raul is a homosexual, and this joke is supposed to be an allusion to that.

Macpherson, Toronto Star
Sorcerer's Apprentice

On other occasions the comic announcer will talk about "Mother Raul" and his long hair.

Mrs. Mariada C. Arensberg, executive secretary of the Cuban Freedom Committee and director of the radio propagandists headquartered in Washington, said that this kind of joke is a real knee slapper in Cuba.

Another program tells the Cubans how to sabotage the sugar cane: "Plant the sugar cane seed upside down." And still another offers Cuban military officers the logic that they needn't obey the Castros because "they are politicians, not military men."

Somebody in the United States likes that kind of material well enough to shell out $400,000 a year, which is what Mrs. Arensberg says the radio assault costs.

Mrs. Arensberg told *The Nation*: "I would just as soon you didn't write about our advisory board," and as for the financing of the radio barrage, she said that comes "from foundations, but I would just as soon you didn't write about that either."

The advisory board displays quite a potpourri of ideologies. It includes Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, publisher of the Houston *Post* and once in Eisenhower's Cabinet; Edward G. Miller, former Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs; Sen. Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island; Rep. Roman C. Pucinski of Illinois; and Walter Williams, former Under Secretary of Commerce.

But the most vocal members of the board are Donald C. Bruce, former Congressman from Indiana (Nonnenmacher was his administrative assistant when he was in Congress); Peter O'Donnell, Dallas businessman; George S. Schuyler, associate editor of the Pittsburgh *Courier*, and John B. McClatchy, Philadelphia businessman and chairman of the advisory committee. Together, they make a shining constellation of ultraconservatives:

¶Throughout his Congressional career Bruce advocated total naval blockade of Cuba; public support of a "Cuban army of liberation," and recognition of a government-in-exile. He has spoken for the Manion Forum, for Human Events Political Action Conferences, for the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and for the National Right-To-Work Committee. He believed President Kennedy "opposed Castro, but not communism."

¶Board Chairman McClatchy participates in the Human Events Political Action Conferences and is a life member of Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. He contributed $10,370 to Christianform in 1960, the year Free Cuba Radio was formed — the only individual to make a big money contribution.

¶For a time, Gen. Albert Wedemeyer, a former member of the advisory board of H. L. Hunt's Life Line and a spokesman at just about every important right-wing gathering, was on the Free Cuba Radio board, but he got sick and quit. The remaining members of the board remember him as "being hard to get along with."

¶Peter O'Donnell is best known for having led the National Draft Goldwater Committee, but he is also a guiding light for the Young Americans for Freedom and other earnest organizations of the type.

¶The most interesting member of the board is George S. Schuyler, Negro journalist, who has made something

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of a name for himself by addressing John Birch conventions on the general theme: Why the South Is a Beautiful Place for Negroes to Live. At a John Birch convention in Denver, in March, he said that when Negroes live in ghettos, they do so because of "the natural human preference." Schuyler was identified with the old China lobby, and he presently is on the advisory committee for the Committee on Pan American Policy, one-fifth of whose members are either on the John Birch Society's national council or on the advisory committee of Rev. Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade.

In 1962, just prior to the Punta del Este consultation of foreign ministers, called by the Council of the Organization of American States, Mrs. Arensberg wrote letters to Congressmen and Senators in which she urged a tough go-it-alone line: "The fetish of continental unity is hampering the United States of America in her effort to isolate and to thwart Communist Cuba. . . . The United States of America must go to Punta del Este with a strong policy to defend the inter-American system and to protect this country if left alone."

Much the same sentiments were expressed by Schuyler in an article he wrote in 1965 for the John Birch magazine *American Opinion*: "Our leaders are mentally shackled against any effective action in dealing with the Communist threat in this hemisphere; our hands are tied by preposterous OAS commitments. . . ."

The same zealous enthusiasm to strike out, and to hell with diplomacy, motivates the staff of Free Cuba Radio today. Dr. Herminio Portell-Vila, who writes many of the radio's propaganda programs, says: "I believe in killing Castro. I believe in blowing up Cuba's refineries. These things I believe in doing."

Mrs. Arensberg says: "We do not think in terms of ten years from now. We think in terms of six months. Anything could happen in that time. Castro could be killed. Anything could happen."

The purpose of Free Cuba Radio is to create an atmosphere in which "anything"—including the death of Castro—is more likely to happen, soon.

For fifteen years the American Friends of the Middle East has been operating on the tightrope philosophy that it isn't anti-Israel, it is merely anti-Zionist—a distinction some Jews have had a hard time following. As one of its regional representatives once explained, "Since AFME is frankly pro-Arab, it is necessarily anti-Zionist, but that is its *one and only negative* aspect."

AFME has always been able to point to some "name"

(Continued on page 556)

'ABUNDANCE' IN PERSPECTIVE

Should Men Compete with Machines?

ROBERT THEOBALD

When, almost exactly three years ago, The Nation *published Robert Theobald's "Abundance: Threat or Promise?" as a special issue of the magazine, the basic challenge there presented to the traditional work-pay basis of society—the suggestion that minimum income should itself be a birthright—was widely greeted as an ingenious adventure in utopian thinking. But partly because of the stimulation provided by that article (later published in an expanded form as* Free Men and Free Markets; *Clarkson N. Potter) and partly because of the pressure of events, Mr. Theobald's economic challenge has come to seem a relevant issue of our time. Thus the war against poverty has been launched since Mr. Theobald first wrote, and already it appears to have lost its impetus—to the degree that Richard Cloward in last week's* Nation *proposed a strategy for throwing the welfare apparatus into a state of such crisis that it would be abandoned for more sweeping federal measures.*

*On the one hand, poverty persists in the country even during the economic stimulation of the war in Vietnam; on the other hand, the computer and automation are taking over work areas at an accelerated rate that is both exciting and frightening (*The New York Times *of April 24 distributed a special magazine section, "The Computer and Society," prepared by the American Federation of Information Processing Societies). The situation has advanced to the point where the President's National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress is itself discussing, and in part recommending, the proposals that seemed so bold when Mr. Theobald discussed them in these pages only three years ago.*

In this context, Robert Theobald restates below his basic concept of the economy of the future, his belief as to how it will affect society at large and the psychology of the individual, his appraisal of the fruits it offers and the process by which they are to be harvested. He is still ahead of the nation's prevailing ideas on these subjects, but the gap is ever narrowing.

It is difficult to overstate the transformation that has occurred in America's perception of its economic and social problems over the past three years. The members of the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress (Automation Commission), for example, recently collectively accepted policies which some of them had rejected as individuals as recently as two years ago, when the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution sent its report to the President. It is now clear that the speed and sweep of events are convincing those who are willing to learn that bolder measures are urgently required.

Unfortunately, there is still no agreement upon *appropriate* measures. This lack stems in large part from a failure to develop an analytical framework in which it would be possible to examine critically the implications of a rapid-growth economy based on highly sophisticated machinery. In addition, such reports as have been made, notably those of the Ad Hoc Committee and of the Automation Com-

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mission, not only disagree on the realities of the present situation but obscure the key value question posed by the potential of abundance.

We shall make little progress in developing appropriate policies until we decide whether the immediate goal of America should be the continuation of full employment or the most rapid possible movement toward a state of full *un*employment, where each individual would have a right to enough resources to free him to do what he wished and where he would be challenged to develop himself and his society. Obviously, the two goals require very different policies.

Both the Automation Commission and the majority of the Ad Hoc Committee declared for continuation of full employment. In addition to myself, only one signer of the Ad Hoc Committee report challenged this view. We argued in a footnote: "The two major principles of the transitional period will be (1) that machines rather than men will take up conventional work openings, and (2) that the activity of men will be devoted to new forms of work and leisure." This article will investigate the meaning of this statement, define the areas of agreement and disagreement among economists, indicate the real choices open to America in terms of patterns of growth and employment. It will also discuss the relevance of the guaranteed income.

The present socio-economic system uses a very simple mechanism for distributing resources: it assumes that the overwhelming proportion of those seeking jobs can find them and that the incomes received will provide the job holder with adequate funds to live in dignity. Such a distribution mechanism requires that enough effective demand exist to take up all the goods and services that can be produced by all the capital and labor that can be economically used.

Accepting this as the goal, economists have come to concentrate on the rate of production growth that can be achieved, and thus the increase in demand that is required for continuing employment. The Gross National Product is expected to exceed $725 billion in 1966; the Automation Commission has estimated that: "The output of the economy—and the aggregate demand to buy it—must grow in excess of 4 per cent a year just to prevent the unemployment rate from rising, and even faster if the unemployment rate is to fall further." The Automation Commission does not expect that it will be easy to keep demand growing at the required pace, for it has stated that the American economy "has seldom, if ever, grown at a rate faster than 3.5 per cent for any extended length of time."

The problem of maintaining an adequate growth in demand will be even greater if production should, in fact, increase at a rate faster than is anticipated by the Automation Commission, and many analysts believe that the Automation Commission underestimated this particular difficulty. They base their case in part on historical trends and, in part, on new developments which they claim will reinforce past experience. As regards historical trends, they point out that the annual rate of increase in productivity has been rising steadily. Thus, according to the Automation Commission, "in the thirty-five years before the end of the Second World War, output per man hour in the private economy rose at a trend rate of 2 per cent per year" and "between 1947 and 1964 productivity in the private economy rose at a trend rate of about 3.1 per cent a year."

The Automation Commission might therefore have been expected to base its calculations on a continuance of the steady historical acceleration: they chose, on the contrary, to assume that no further rise in the rate of productivity increase would occur over the next ten years.

The assumption appears particularly dubious in the light of accumulating evidence about the implications of modern advanced machinery, and particularly of the computer. The potential of the computer is still not generally perceived —indeed, the report of the Automation Commission effectively dismissed it without analysis: "It is beyond our knowledge to know whether the computer, nuclear power and molecular biology are quantitatively or qualitatively more 'revolutionary' than the telephone, electric power and bacteriology."

In these circumstances, a few facts should be emphasized. The first commercial computer was installed in 1950; the number of computers operating in the United States had grown to 5,000 by 1960, and is conservatively estimated to reach 70,000 by 1970. During the decade of the sixties, the technique of time sharing will come into general use: it is even today well beyond the experimental stage. (Time sharing allows several people to use the same computer at the same time without even leaving their offices, thus greatly increasing the capacity of each computer.) In addition, major improvements are being made in the handling of information, both in terms of the efficiency of the computer itself and also in the programer's ability to provide the computer with information in the form most suitable to its capacities.

It is, of course, difficult to develop figures for the effects of these last two developments, but it may be helpful to provide even extremely crude estimates. Thus, it is probably conservative to estimate that an average of ten people will use each computer simultaneously in 1970, as compared to one in 1960; it is equally conservative to estimate that the average computer in 1970 will handle information 1,000 times more efficiently than in 1960. When one multiplies these two figures by each other and by the increase in the number of computers during the decade, one arrives at an estimate for the increase in computer information handling capacity of 140,000 times. Most of the impact of this increase in capacity will make itself felt between 1965 and 1970.

Many analysts therefore expect that the Automation Commission will turn out to have underestimated the actual rate of productivity increase. However, even economists who are most impressed by the potential rise in productivity that can be achieved in the immediate future would agree that policy measures could *still* be devised to use all of the economic productive resources. Indeed, the experience of this year shows that full employment can always be achieved —although it still appears to require war expenditures to break through the political constraints on spending. There is no *economic* problem in achieving full employment of all economic resources for an indefinite time in the future.

Thus, we should not ask whether we can employ all economic resources, for the answer to this question is clearly

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"yes": rather we should examine three different issues. First, will America be willing to accept the fundamental changes in institutions that will be required for the adoption of policies necessary to keep supply equal to demand when the war in Vietnam ends? Second, is it inevitable that certain types of people will become "unemployable" because they will be more costly than machines? Third, at what point should we decide that further economic growth is not the prime necessity, and that the preservation of the link between jobs and income, which requires keeping supply and demand equal, should therefore be destroyed?

I intend to pass briefly over the first of these questions. It is now part of the conventional wisdom to argue that there are massive unmet economic needs among the American poor, massive unmet social needs in America, and massive requirements for goods and services elsewhere in the world. It is, however, surely clear that American society is not yet ready for the major restructuring of its institutions that would be required for an all-out attack on the causes of poverty, both internal and external, and an all-out attempt to build an attractive environment. Whether one believes that the necessary rethinking will take place as fast as will be required to keep up with technological change depends on personal judgment.

Analysis of the prospect of unemployability due to the increasing efficiency of machines systems is the second area where the rapid development of computers and advanced machinery raises profound questions. The present position accepted by the Administration and by most economists is that the pace of improvement in educational accomplishments will counterbalance the increase in the efficiency of machines, and that special education and retraining programs will be adequate to deal with the relatively few people who require further help.

But this forecast underestimates both the growing impact of advanced machinery and the results of continuing increases in the amount and coverage of the minimum wage. Despite the obvious social desirability of better minimum wage provisions, the evidence becomes ever clearer that increases in the minimum wage decrease the attractiveness of marginal employees. The most disturbing study so far available on this subject resulted from a special census report of the South Los Angeles area following the rioting in Watts last year. During the boom period of 1960-65, when general economic conditions in the United States were improving at an unprecedented rate, conditions in South Los Angeles were no better than static, and some key indicators actually showed declines. For example, the male unemployment rate for South Los Angeles was 11.3 per cent in 1960 and 10.1 per cent in 1965: nationally the unemployment rate for nonwhite males dropped from 12 per cent to 6 per cent during the same period. Median family income in South Los Angeles actually declined during a period in which the typical American family's rose substantially.

A severe problem of unemployability appears to be emerging. Certain types of workers have insufficient inherent capacities to be worth employing at any job for the socially determined wage rate. In these circumstances, employers can be expected to claim that there is a severe shortage of workers even at times when large numbers of people assert that they cannot find jobs.

It is still not recognized that the problem of ultimate unemployability is not confined to the blue-collar worker. A recent *Wall Street Journal* story stated that even during the present boom a substantial number of middle-management personnel are finding it impossible to keep up with the new knowledge required for effective administration. The lead sentence of the article set the tone: "Today's fast-changing business methods are spawning a new breed of executive—the obsolete executive." In particular, companies that rely ever more heavily on computers find it necessary to give responsibility to younger people who have an understanding of computer management, thus limiting the prospects of older people who would normally have continued to move up the management ladder. A recent survey by the American Foundation on Automation and Employment indicated that the problem could be expected to deepen with almost totally unexpected rapidity.

The argument of this article has so far been concerned with what is possible, but that is surely far less relevant today than a study of what is desirable. I shall therefore cease to examine whether man *can* compete with machines, and examine whether man *should* compete with machines —that being the third point itemized above. Once this latter approach is explicitly developed, it becomes immediately clear that the economists' view of the problem has, in fact, caused us to lose sight of the very purpose of increasing productivity, which originally aimed to free man from the necessity of meaningless and degrading toil. We are now entering a period when machines can toil for us, and it is therefore surely grotesque that we continue to insist on competing with them for the ever-shrinking amounts of toil that are available. Attempts to preserve the right to a job will result in eliminating all other individual rights.

It is at this point that the debate on the guaranteed income—or Basic Economic Security, as I prefer to call it—becomes immediately relevant, for we cannot free man from toil unless we achieve fundamental change in our techniques of distributing resources and also fundamental change in Western man's view of what gives value to his life. Take first the problem of income distribution. Western society requires, as we have seen, that men who wish to hold jobs should be able to find them, for only thus can they obtain resources. Our socio-economy is curiously deficient in financial mechanisms that enable the individual to act as an institution, self-directed, and alone responsible for his activities.

Some isolated examples of the individual as an institution *do* already exist: the independent rich and those receiving grants or fellowships. Such individuals can act outside the constraints typical of the industrial-age, market-oriented, task-structured system. In contrast to industrial-age, generalized time patterning, their work often requires that they adopt a highly personal rhythm of activity and inactivity. This manner of working is therefore not amenable to remuneration according to present economic criteria and mechanisms; if alternative mechanisms are not forthcoming, society will not be able to take advantage of the potential of a significant number of individuals who are capable of acting

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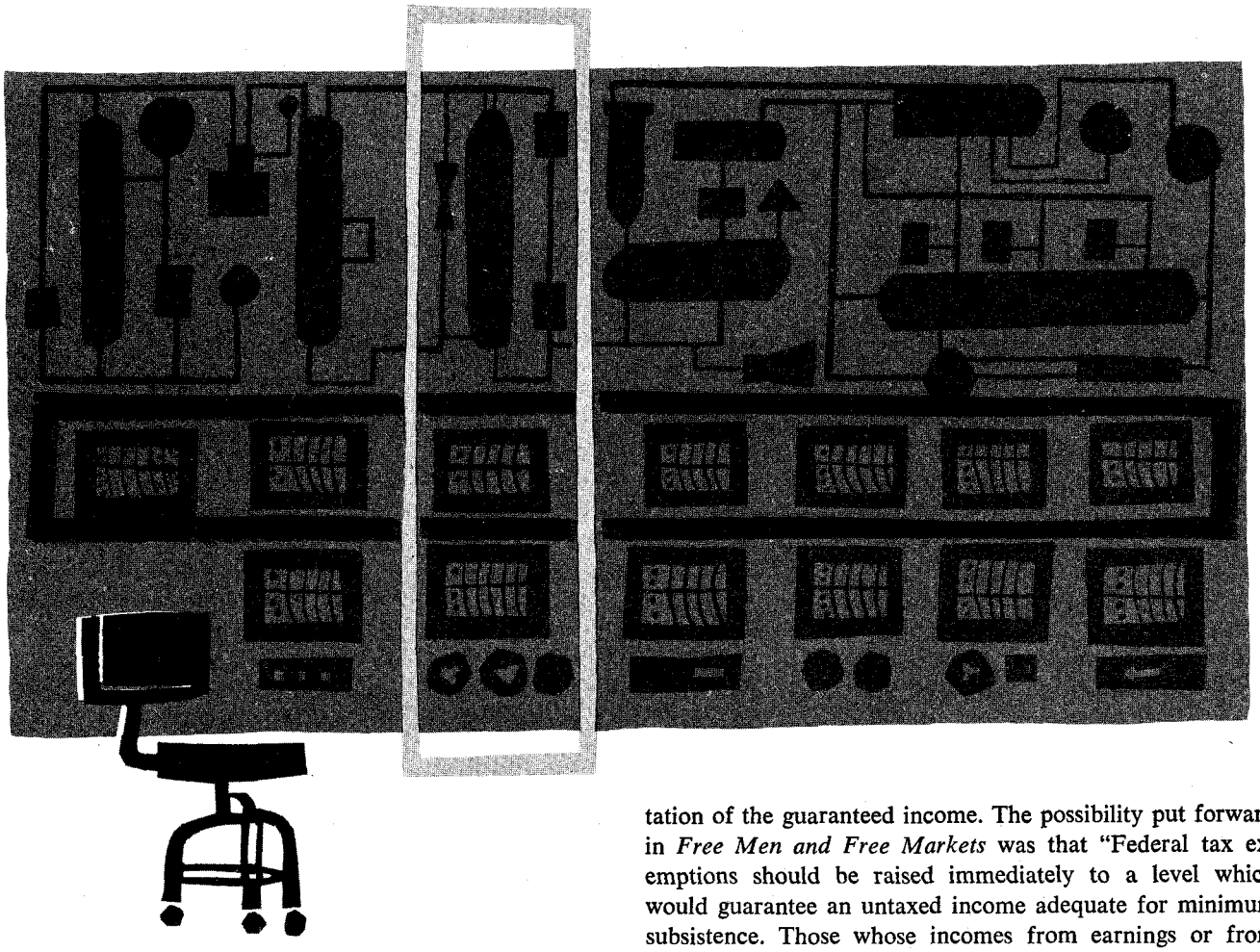

in this way but who lack financial support. Clearly, new mechanisms for distributing income to these individuals are urgently needed.

Basic Economic Security (BES) is the fundamental new principle of income distribution appropriate to the era of cybernation. Although it is designed to meet our immediate needs of underwriting the activities of creative individuals and improving our methods of financing the educational system, the most significant aspect of this proposal is that it is an economist's approach to the social and cultural self-devaluation problem of the currently unemployed and those who will become unemployed. This is a *general* economic principle, applicable to every member of society, and underwriting his status as a member of society; rather than a mere economic mechanism that enables a human being to remain alive even though society has virtually ceased to recognize him as one of its members.

The guaranteed income is a philosophical principle which argues that at a time when machines can produce enough for all, every man is entitled to a minimum income. It is valid only if man proves willing to rise to challenge and does not have to be coerced into action by a fear of social deprivation. I believe that we can develop a society wherein men will accept the responsibility that is an inevitable concomitant of freedom.

However, immediate implementation of a new philosophical principle must be expected to raise severe problems: it is impossible to devise an ideal technique for the implementation of the guaranteed income. The possibility put forward in *Free Men and Free Markets* was that "Federal tax exemptions should be raised immediately to a level which would guarantee an untaxed income adequate for minimum subsistence. Those whose incomes from earnings or from capital did not reach this level would then be entitled to receive Federal government payments sufficient to raise their incomes to this level and ensure their Basic Economic Security . . . it might be expected that a level of $1,000 for every adult and $600 for every child would . . . be feasible levels to use as a starting point for calculations."

Subsequent debate has made it clear that this technique —now generally known as the negative income tax—is the only feasible way of implementing the guaranteed income. This remains true despite the preference of some analysts for the "demogrant"—a flat payment to every individual regardless of his income. While there are considerable obvious advantages to the demogrant proposal in terms of administrative simplicity, the cost makes this technique effectively impossible. It can be estimated that a negative income tax based on rates of $1,000 per adult and $600 per child could be introduced for between $12 billion and $20 billion; the cost of a demogrant of the same magnitude would be around $140 billion.

The negative income tax, however, is a far from ideal technique. It is vulnerable to underreporting of income. It raises awkward questions of family splitting: many people now in a family unit but who do not earn anything might split themselves off in order to qualify for payments. A further problem arises from the fact that if each adult receives the same amount of money, the single individual will receive a less adequate income than a married couple; while if a proportionately larger allowance is given to the

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single individual, a decision to get married reduces total income substantially.

The only adequate justification for the negative income tax technique is that it makes possible the introduction of the *guaranteed* income and thus advances the idea that *every* individual is worthy of certain fundamental rights, including an income sufficient to live with dignity.

Thus the apparent present community of interest between supporters of a guaranteed income, with the negative income tax as the technique to achieve it, and supporters of the negative income tax as a way to eliminate poverty for the "deserving" poor, is not only illusory but extremely dangerous in its implications. The scope of the guaranteed income is the total society; prior to the current debate, the key volume was Bellamy's *Looking Backward,* an 1888 description of a new society based on a new philosophy of human purpose and activity. In contrast, the restricted applicability of the negative income tax technique used as an overall proposal was already apparent in a 1946 statement by George Stigler: "There is a great attractiveness in the proposal that we extend the personal income tax to the lowest income brackets with negative rates in these brackets." It is clear that this concept originated *before* the emergence of the new productive technologies—automation and cybernation—and was perceived merely as a device for "dealing with" the poor.

Supporters of the guaranteed income must recognize that the key element in the proposal is for an absolute constitutional guarantee. While the additional funds made available would have some short-run benefits even if a constitutional guarantee were not adopted, the long-run effect would be disastrous, for the payment of benefits under the negative income tax plan would then become a weapon to force conformity, as is presently the case with the distribution of poverty funds. If the right to an income is not absolutely guaranteed, some method of determining eligibility for the guaranteed income would have to be introduced; those applying the eligibility rules would have overwhelming power. We must allow some people to abuse the guaranteed income—as they will in the early stages—rather than provide any government with such potential for tyranny.

Such a position is, of course, only logical if the percentage of those who would choose to be idle is small. Available studies of many groups—from those on welfare to those in middle management—show that idleness is greatly feared and that the vast majority of Americans do not want to be mere cultural spectators but rather hope to fulfill some societal role.

Full employment does not promise the full achievement of America's potential. People will act more creatively if they have the right to an income and are challenged to develop themselves and their society. BES is, in my opinion, essential if we are to preserve our goal of individual freedom. It is not merely one possible solution to the problem of cybernation which can be compared with many others: on the contrary, it is the prerequisite to other policies which we must develop to deal with emerging problems. In American society today, there is a vast amount of human energy that cannot be employed because of a lack of available independent financial resources: the provision of BES will lead to cultural, social and political advance on an unprecedented scale.

For society at large, and especially for those creative individuals now shackled by the absence of BES, the situation is analogous to the introduction of limited liability in the 19th century. Limited liability was introduced to encourage risk taking by those investing in companies. The concept of a joint venture was replaced by the concept that the stockholder's liability for company debts no longer put a lien on his total wealth but only on the amount he invested in the company. Limited liability was a pre-condition for the taking of risks: it did not insure risk taking or innovation but it did make them possible, thus allowing the economy and society to benefit from the self-interested acts of individuals.

Similarly, BES provides the individual with the ability to do what he personally feels to be important. This allows risk taking and innovation in areas where the existing and emerging needs of society are not being met by an otherwise efficiently functioning free enterprise market system. The minimum income is not mediated through the offices of any other individual or organization within the market system and therefore does not bring with it built-in pressures for the recipient to continue doing what is already being done through the market system.

BES will perhaps have its greatest importance in the development of education, which will become vital to life. We shall recognize in the very near future that mere extension of the period of education will not be enough; that we shall need major changes in concepts of education to meet the new challenges. We must face up to the fact that today's school and university were designed to serve the requirements of the passing industrial age. [See "The Post-Industrial Generation: Roots of Student Discontent" by Mervin B. Freedman, *The Nation,* June 14, 1965.] If we are to educate for the future, we must find ways to develop creativity, and enlarge the capacity of the individual to think in terms of his own uniqueness. We shall have to teach people to think for themselves rather than merely to absorb and then regurgitate, with maximum A-level accuracy, the theories of past thinkers. The best way to achieve this is to change our educational system from being discipline-oriented to being problem-oriented.

We should have far more "unemployment" in the future than there is today, but we shall come to perceive unemployment as favorable rather than unfavorable. The individual and society now fear unemployment for two reasons: it usually implies an inadequate income; it threatens cessation of all meaningful activity and encourages anti-social activity. When we provide adequate incomes to all and develop each individual's uniqueness so that he himself knows what he wants to do, unemployment, which will then be redefined as the condition of *not* holding a job, will be seen as highly desirable. Paradoxically, therefore, economists can best serve society by directing their organizational effort and their professional skills toward full unemployment rather than full employment.

However, full unemployment does not, and will not,

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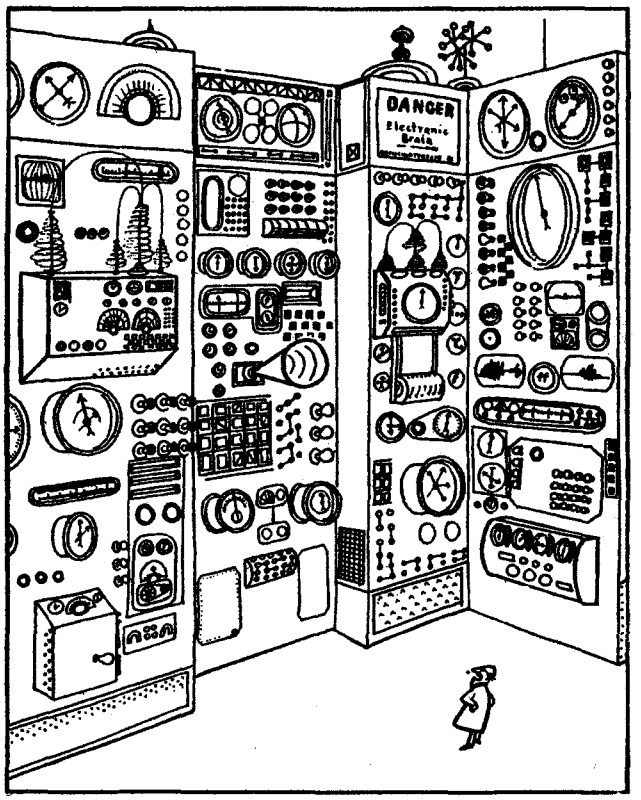
appear a desirable goal to those who were brought up in the Protestant ethic. There are many people who will wish to be employed, but do not have the capacity to develop their own lives within the freedom provided by BES. It is extraordinarily unfortunate that many of those ultimately unemployable within the existing job-structured productive system seem likely to be those most in need of structured activity to make their lives meaningful. This is true both for blue-collar workers and for middle-management and similar groups with high levels of professional training.

The upbringing and education of those most immediately threatened by cybernation have limited their horizons so severely that they cannot fully benefit from the potential abundance which their own work has created. Society crippled these people in order to get them to produce efficiently. As their productive efforts are no longer required, society must not only provide them with rights to adequate incomes but must *also* provide new types of activities that will give them a sense of satisfaction in their lives.

This can only be done through new types of organization, and BES will greatly simplify the provision of new work roles for individuals who will not have to be paid wages. We can anticipate the organization of what I have called "consentives": productive groups formed by individuals who come together on a voluntary basis, simply because they wish to do so. Articles made by these consentives will not compete with mass-produced goods available from cybernated factories; the consentive will normally produce the "custom-designed" objects and services that have been vanishing within the present economy.

This type of productive unit will continue far into the future, for skilled handwork is one of the most satisfying of occupations. But the proportion of the population that spends most of its time in production will decline as education in its fullest sense takes an ever more central position and other activities come to seem more challenging. For the present, however, it is essential to recognize that we face an acute transitional problem. We may reasonably hope to change the educational process so that those still within it will understand that toil is unnecessary and will accept the freedom made possible by cybernation. It will be far more difficult to bring an older generation that was raised within the Protestant ethic to this point of view. Will we have to develop political policies to preserve jobs for the older members of society while challenging the young to work in nonstructured situations? And if this is indeed necessary, what social norms can we develop to prevent a profound generational split?

The context of this article should make it clear that BES is only a short first step toward a free society; toward achievement of the long held dream of Western man that one day it might be possible to achieve an overwhelming abundance of goods and services, and that at the same time we might draw nearer to our stated ideal of social justice and individual freedom for all, without distinction of class, creed or color. BES will make a true, if limited, start toward fulfilling both goals. However, if we are to progress beyond it, we must develop firmer criteria for economic and social policies to deal with the new technologies.



Punch

"What d'you mean—obvious to the meanest intelligence?"

For one thing, we must deal with the problem of those of middle-level incomes who will be displaced by the new technologies. I argued in *Free Men and Free Markets* that we would need to introduce a middle-income maintenance scheme if we were successfully to pass through the transition from the industrial to the cybernated era. It was made quite clear that an indefinite continuance of income differentials under the two schemes would not be desirable, but I did not spell out how we could eventually achieve a system in which every human being would have the right to all the goods and services he required.

As the debate has developed, it has become evident that the provision of income as a right will render money an anachronism. Money was needed in the past to ration scarce goods and industrial services, but it is a highly unsatisfactory means of determining priorities in a cybernated era. Society will find it most satisfactory, in terms of scarce resources, to distribute many types of goods and services without money payments. Thus, although we should certainly strive to achieve a rapid rise in BES entitlements (I have suggested a built-in increase of at least 5 per cent a year), we should also endeavor to increase the amount of goods available without cost.

However, we cannot move to a system providing free goods at the present time. Today we are all imbued with a fear of scarcity, and individuals could therefore be expected to hoard or waste if free goods and services were offered. We can move toward providing them only when people are convinced that they would *always* be available and that wasting resources was societally intolerable.

What reasons can be given to suggest that in the foreseeable future we shall become accustomed to abundance and

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cease to accept waste? Two relatively new lines of analysis provide some hope that such a development is probable.

Arguments about the need and the desirability to limit consumption have in the past been primarily based on the social undesirability of a life pattern that emphasized consumption. Analysis along these lines has had little appeal for a society that has always basically believed that "enough" is $1,000 more than present income. Recent experimentation, however, has confirmed the significance of the problem of sensory overload: that is, of an inability to absorb more than a certain amount of experience in a given time. Sensory overload results in a deadening of all the senses. This can be illustrated on one level by the new anesthesia technique, used particularly in dentistry, of providing earphones to the patient and then raising the level of sound to the point where pain ceases to be felt. A similar phenomenon occurs during world tours: it becomes impossible to absorb more sights or sounds. The implications of this understanding of sensory overload are critical because there is increasingly general agreement that creativity depends upon a period of low sensory activity; in other words, upon an opportunity to reflect. As individuals come to realize the reality of sensory overload, they can be expected voluntarily to restrict their input of sensory perceptions; this will inevitably force limits on purchases and on travel.

In addition, society will be forced to limit waste by changing its pattern of rewards and sanctions. It cannot be done successfully, in my opinion, by appealing to the assumed shortage of raw materials, for man's ability to produce new materials through physics and chemistry could grow at least as fast as his need for materials. Rather, the need for limiting waste—whether caused by exaggerated rates of obsolescence, the development of a throwaway culture, the acceptance of polluting by-products or other reasons—will be based on our growing knowledge of ecology: on the necessity to limit the degree of change in the environment if man is to survive.

Recognition of these two realities which will cause limitation of consumption makes it possible to bring the argument full circle. The discussion began with a statement that our socio-economic system cannot remain viable unless every individual who desires a job can find one, and that it is therefore necessary for society to keep demand equal to supply. The discussion can therefore close with a statement that it is no longer desirable, *for personal and social reasons,* to force demand to grow as fast as supply, and that we must therefore begin to restructure our institutional and socialization systems.

The pre-condition for any such restructuring is the breaking of the link between jobs and income, so that people can live without holding a job. Until this step is taken, we cannot eliminate the need to create enough demand to buy all the available production. Once we have broken the link we can start to make policy in terms of human needs.

ESP: SCIENCE OR DELUSION?

DANIEL COHEN
Mr. Cohen is a free-lance writer specializing in scientific subjects.

A few months ago the writer and critic Marya Mannes said on radio that Russia had eight large laboratories experimenting with extrasensory perception, and that they were getting remarkable results. Thus another wild ESP story was kept spinning. This one, which has been around for three years, seemed to come from an unimpeachable source.

A *Chicago Tribune* feature writer, Norma Lee Browning, first mentioned the eight centers early in 1963. She said that they "conducted experiments which, if the results are half as good as the Russians claim, indicate that they may be the first to put a human thought in orbit or achieve mind-to-mind communication with men on the moon." This sort of journalism is not calculated to blow up much of a scientific storm, but Dr. Eugene B. Konecci, director of Biotechnology and Human Research for NASA, repeated Miss Browning's remarks almost word for word, but without giving credit—and thus seemed to give NASA endorsement to the report. Unfortunately, the story isn't true. The Soviet Union has one small ESP or parapsychology laboratory, and if the results are even twice as good as the Russians claim, they are still not very good at all.

Another well-circulated ESP rumor is that the U.S. atomic submarine *Nautilus* has engaged in highly successful ship-to-shore telepathy experiments. This one started in the usually reliable French publication *Science et Vie*. Not only is the story unconfirmed; it has been flatly denied by absolutely everyone who could have been connected with such experiments, and the *Nautilus* itself was in dry dock at Portsmouth, N.H., when the alleged experiments took place.

A source of continued embarrassment to the interesting little field of ESP is the fact that too many people find it much too interesting. Enthusiasts suspend disbelief so quickly that they accept the wildest exaggerations, misconceptions and downright hoaxes. Since serious study of ESP began late in the 19th century, the field has been a gathering place for crooked mediums, phony psychics, fraudulent mind readers and an assortment of public crackpots.

Small wonder that most scientists are wary of ESP; they do not want to be caught in bed with the table tippers and ghost chasers. Universities, foundations and the government are also conventional to the point of disliking to hand out other people's money for bizarre-sounding research projects —particularly when these projects are certain to be well publicized. The press swings between regarding ESP as an established fact and treating it as a big joke, but in either case the stories get published.

In 1963, the Air Force Cambridge Research Laboratories began a project aimed at testing for extrasensory perception with a machine. It was a small project, just a beginning really, and the results were inconclusive; but it made newspapers all over the country. Today, as far as can be de-

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termined, no government or military ESP work is going on, and government scientists are unwilling to talk publicly about the subject. In private they admit that they are still interested and rather wistfully hope that somewhere, someone will appropriate the money for further research.

The small number of Soviet scientists interested in parapsychology have been even more embarrassed. Late in 1963, they announced that they had found a woman, Rosa Kuleshova, who could read newspapers with her fingers while blindfolded. Soon three other "finger-tip readers" were found. Although finger reading is the least spectacular of all the presumed extrasensory abilities, the fact that the experiments had been performed by supposedly hardheaded, materialistic Russians made a good story. It inspired Dr. Richard P. Youtz, a psychology professor at Barnard College, to search for the same abilities here in America. He found a Flint, Mich., housewife, Mrs. Patricia Stanley, who could identify colors with her finger tips. He told the Eastern Psychological Association that "eyeless vision" was a "real phenomenon." A few weeks later *Life* was giving its readers do-it-yourself finger-tip vision tests.

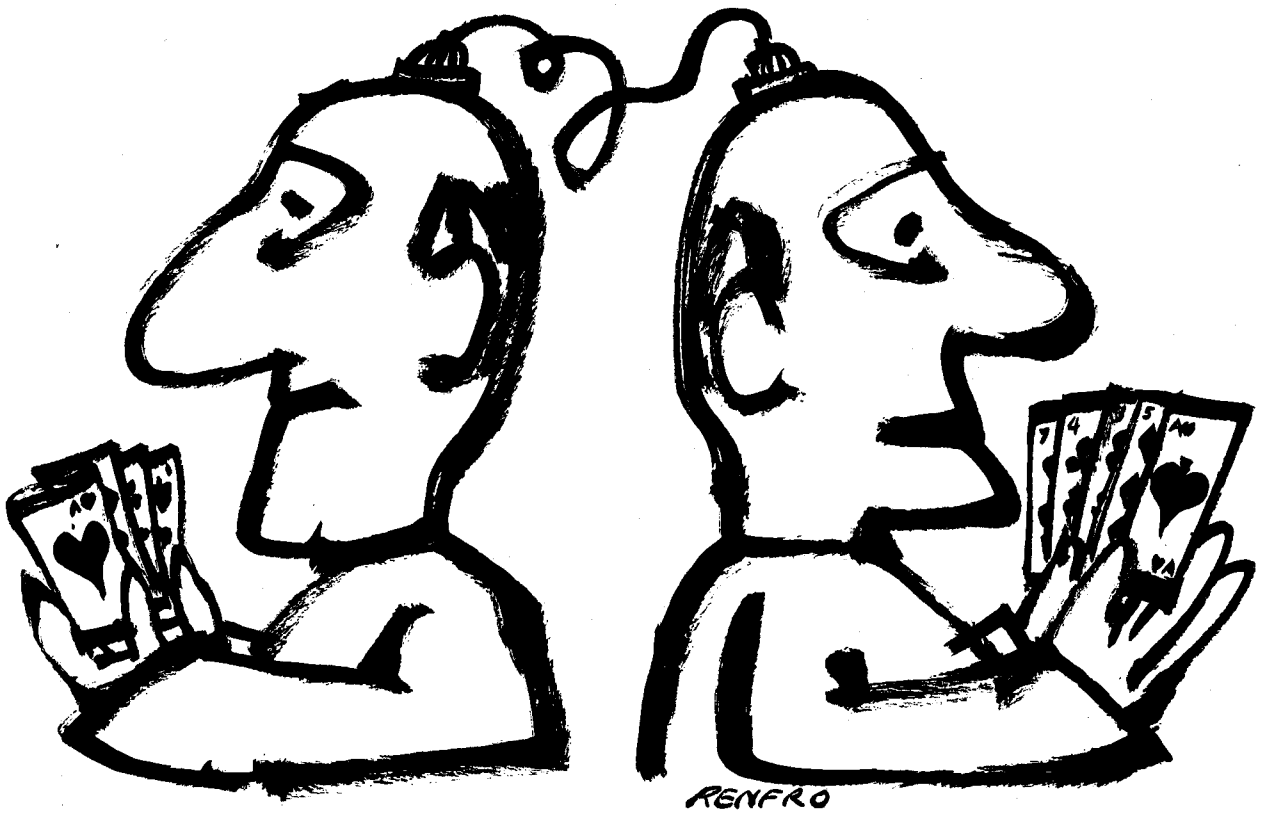
All sorts of explanations were offered for eyeless vision. The most common was that the women were able to detect subtle heat differences between different colors or between printed and nonprinted portions of a piece of paper. A magician friend who looked at the photographs of the Soviet tests in progress offered another explanation. "It's a fraud," he said flatly. He thought it would be almost childishly simple for the women to see through or around the blindfolds. Magicians, he pointed out, were able to do the same thing with much more elaborate eye coverings. "Scientists are not conjurers; they are very naive about tricks. I have seen them fooled many times."

Within months Lev Teplov, science reporter for the Novosti press agency, had come to the same conclusion. He arranged controlled tests for Rosa Kuleshova and her three imitators. Those who agreed to take Teplov's tests failed miserably. He wrote: "It would be wrong to treat all of these 'phenomena' as sheer deceit. Apparently these cases are related to symptoms of hysteria." It turned out that one of the women was a known swindler and another a patient in a mental institution. Teplov's comments on the gullibility of the scientists were cruel.

Dr. Youtz's claims were less sensational and his tests more carefully controlled, but when he retested Mrs. Stanley, after initial successful and well-publicized experiments, he found her ability had fled. My magician friend was critical of Dr. Youtz's techniques and pointed out that it was quite possible for a subject to receive unconscious sensory clues and thus deceive without being aware of it.

References to eyeless vision have been dropped from the most recent articles announcing that ESP has finally been proved. The new excitement centers upon an experiment performed by Drs. T. D. Duane and Thomas Behrendt of Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia. They reported the unexplainable occurrence of a particular brain-wave pattern among pairs of identical twins. Sets of such twins were seated about 15 feet apart in separate rooms. Each had electrodes attached to his scalp to register the pattern of his brain waves. One twin was told to close his eyes, thus producing the alpha rhythms characteristic of this sort of activity. Fifteen sets of twins were tested and Duane and Behrendt noted that in two sets the alpha rhythm appeared in the other twin, though his eyes were open. Interesting, but hardly cause for breaking out the champagne to celebrate the long-awaited laboratory confirmation of ESP.

Since the invention of the electroencephalograph by Hans



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Berger in 1929, a great deal of ESP research has centered on brain waves. Berger himself thought his instrument could be used to record the energy responsible for extrasensory perception. To date this hope remains unfulfilled. The brain does generate electrical pulses and in theory it might be possible for one brain to receive and interpret these impulses from another. But there is little experimental evidence to support this theory and a good deal that points in the other direction.

Westinghouse tried to test brain-to-brain communication without success. Dr. Edmond Dewan of the Cambridge Research Laboratories was actually able to open and close electrical circuits with alpha waves from his brain. However, he had electrodes attached to his scalp, and even then he was able to send messages only by means of a light or buzzer at the rate of one letter every twenty seconds. This is a very long way from brain-to-brain communication.

Clearly, no physical basis for telepathy has been established. For other presumed ESP abilities, clairvoyance (seeing distant events) and precognition (seeing future events), which seem to operate in complete independence from time and space, no physical theory has even been offered. Yet the evidence for clairvoyance and precognition is every bit as good as that for telepathy—and often it is better.

The best results ever published were reported by Dr. B. F. Riess of Hunter College. In 1937, he used a card-guessing technique to test a New York girl who was known as a "nonprofessional psychic." She scored 1,349 correct responses out of 1,850 tries. Chance expectation was 370. The girl guessed cards that were being turned up one-quarter mile away.

Dr. J. B. Rhine of Duke University, the pope of American ESP, conducted the most famous of all such tests in 1933. As his subject Rhine used Hubert Pearce, a divinity student who had shown an unusual ability at card calling. Rhine's assistant, J. G. Pratt, and Pearce sat in different buildings 100 yards apart. Both had synchronized their watches. Pratt laid cards face down, without looking at them, at one-minute intervals. Pearce recorded his guesses, and later Pratt recorded the sequence of cards. Duplicate copies of both records were sealed and sent to Rhine before the two men saw each other. In 300 trials Pearce made 119 correct calls. The number to be expected by chance was 60.

Even more puzzling are the experiments performed in the 1930s by the British mathematician S. G. Soal. He also used the card-guessing technique on 160 subjects over a five-year period. He recorded some 100,000 guesses, and after analyzing his figures found no evidence of telepathy. Later he was persuaded to re-evaluate his records. This time he found a displacement effect. Two of the tested subjects had scored abnormally high in guessing the card one or two ahead of the target. When these subjects were retested they continued to make his scores, for a while.

This brings up another problem: no one scores well consistently. A subject can get impressive results one day and nothing the next. Approximately three-quarters of the people tested show no ESP abilities whatsoever. The rest show a tiny non-chance effect, which supporters say is ESP and skeptics say is a statistical error. Then there are a few "stars" who get really high non-chance scores. But even Pearce, the best subject Rhine ever had, was not consistent. When he was retested years later he seemed to have lost his ability entirely.

Finally there is the suspicious problem of attitude. Tests seem to work well only when both subject and experimenter believe in ESP. Recording a long series of card calls in an ESP test is dull work and inevitably errors creep in. Some scientists believe that a person who favors ESP will unconsciously tend to make errors that support his belief. In 1952, Richard S. Kaufman of Yale University tested this by training concealed cameras on both recorders and subject. The camera record showed that while the actual test produced results that conformed to chance, the believing recorders made enough mistakes to indicate a non-chance, ESP effect.

Obviously successful ESP experiments are not repeatable, and thus do not meet a basic requirement of all scientific experiments. Little wonder that scientists are far less enthusiastic about the results than the general public. Dr. Montague Ullman, director of psychiatry at Maimonides Hospital in Brooklyn, estimated that there were only about six full-time and forty part-time academically trained psychical researchers in the United States today. ESP gets most support, or at least sympathy, from psychologists and psychiatrists, but even in these traditionally free-wheeling fields acceptance is distinctly a minority opinion. It is hard, however, to ignore the stature of some of the supporters, most notably Dr. Gardner Murphy of the Menninger Foundation.

Most physical scientists would probably agree with Dr. George R. Price of the University of Minnesota who wrote: "My opinion concerning parapsychologists is that many of them are dependent on clerical and statistical errors and unintentional use of sensory clues and that all extra-chance results not so explicable are dependent on deliberate fraud or mildly abnormal mental conditions."

But then there is Dr. Henry Margenau, professor of Physics and Natural Philosophy at Yale University, who told a November meeting of the American Society for Psychical Research: "I have no more reason to doubt the authenticity of [ESP] reports from respected psychologists and psychiatrists than I have to doubt Dr. Alan Sandage's reports of quasars. . . . The old distinctions between the natural and supernatural are spurious."

The American Society for Psychical Research is the oldest and most respectable of U.S. parapsychology organizations. It was founded in 1885 by a group of proper Bostonians including psychologist William James. A newer, more active group is the Parapsychology Foundation, headed by retired trance medium Eileen J. Garrett and bankrolled largely by Rep. Frances P. Bolton of Ohio, who sports the title of "the richest woman in Congress." The foundation supports parapsychology research, sponsors conferences, and issues a steady flow of literature. Its now defunct popular magazine, *Tomorrow,* ran articles which ranged from the mildly oddball to the completely crack-brained. Now, however, the foundation's publications are quite serious and responsible in tone. The editors will not tolerate fakery and even temper their enthusiasm with a surprising degree of skepticism.

The third and newest organization is the Foundation

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for Research on the Nature of Man, headed by Dr. Rhine himself. The FRNM's vaguely defined objective is to encourage research into those properties that distinguish man from his physical environment, yet lie outside the scope of orthodox science. In reality, FRNM's function is to take up the work of Rhine's parapsychology laboratory at Duke University which closed last year. FRNM is still housed in the old laboratory building on the Duke campus, although no longer an official part of the university.

Rhine is undoubtedly the towering figure in American ESP, not merely because of his longevity (he has passed 70 and has been flipping cards in tests for over forty years) but also because of his unquestionable honesty. When his methods were criticized, as they often were, he tried to correct them. If the results suffered—so be it. He has been almost as open about his failures as he has about his successes.

This dedication to scientific principles is curiously impressive when one realizes that Rhine is absolutely convinced that ESP is a supernatural or spiritual force. He has said it "liberates the sciences from the confinement of a materialist metaphysics."

Rhine once considered becoming a minister, but turned to psychical research after attending a lecture on spiritualism by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. (Doyle, creator of that relentless logician, Sherlock Holmes, became one of the most gullible mystics in history.) Rhine is basically a religious man, but religious leaders have rarely displayed a mutual attraction for psychical (psi) research. Rhine has complained: "It is in the very nature of orthodoxy not to welcome, let alone support, an experimental invasion of the domain of authority and faith." However, a few churchmen, particularly in England, have associated themselves with psychical organizations.

Rhine's frankly spiritual outlook embarrasses some of the more physically or psychologically oriented members of the psychical research fraternity. He was all right in his day, they confide, but now we must have more sensitive and accurate tests. A brave ambition; unfortunately, no one has yet devised such tests.

Rhine's experiments have also been criticized by the other wing of the psychical research field. These radicals see little use in all the card shuffling and statistics. Who cares if someone can guess eight correct cards rather than five, out of a pack of twenty-five. The really exciting things are the prophetic dreams and the dog that howls at the moment his master dies a thousand miles away. These "spontaneous psychical occurrences" are the touchstone of interest in ESP; any attempt to "quantify" psi in the laboratory is not only doomed, it will lead the field astray. Strange stories are obviously more fun than dry statistics, and many striking and even startling psi events seem well documented. But tales of this type inevitably contain an unacceptable vagueness, and just collecting such oddities, in the manner of Robert Ripley, will lead nowhere. Articles will be published in Sunday supplements, but not in *Science*.

Every year serious conferences are held at which important people proclaim that ESP has arrived—or almost. It has been going on now for more than fifty years. In the early 1900s, William James said that psi investigation would be the most important part of psychology in the decades to follow. He was the first in a long and often distinguished line of investigators to sight a false dawn.

It is tempting, therefore, to conclude that the whole soggy business is utter nonsense and be done with all the irritating enthusiasts and their wild stories. But there are those niggling little bits of evidence—not conclusive, not even persuasive, but damn persistent and interesting. For if it were true. . . .

BREAKFAST WITH SUKARNO

DESMOND SMITH
Mr. Smith is a writer on economics and business who contributes frequently to The Nation.

I arrived in Jakarta, Indonesia's hot and crowded capital, one night late in March. And I came with a good deal of trepidation. Friends in Bangkok had already warned me that *all* hotel rooms used by foreigners in Jakarta were bugged. I was urged to be extremely careful about what I said in private. A few days later I dutifully checked in at the glossy American Embassy. On the way there I passed what the London *Daily Express* had described as "the waist-high ruins of the British Embassy." The building, though clearly damaged, was intact. A mood of doubt and despair settled upon me, intensified by the unfamiliar surroundings in which I found myself. There was no comfort to be found at the embassy. Beneath the Great Seal of the Republic (ours not theirs) a very senior lady official urged me to be terribly careful about what I might say in public. "Sukarno's spies are everywhere," her voice dropped to a confidential whisper: "secret police." Over a plate of chilled papaya at the Hotel Indonesia I glanced at my new notebook. Two entries were scratched on the first page—"don't talk in private, rooms bugged" and "say nothing in public, spies everywhere." It was shaping up as a silent month ahead.

After a week in Jakarta, the idea of everything being so super-CIA in style turned out to be merely laughable. I discovered that almost all Indonesians are crazy to talk about Sukarno as soon as the subject is broached. And they speak of the Great Leader of the Revolution in much the same way that people in Texas might speak of Lyndon Johnson—some love him, some hate him, and they haven't the slightest hesitation about saying so.

The innocent visitor to Indonesia, that is to say a visitor whose knowledge has been gathered chiefly from reading *The New York Times* and *Time*, receives a rude shock. He arrives expecting an armed camp, a dictator state, and an economic disaster area. Instead he finds as many soldiers in public enterprise as he does in formal military duties; he finds a dictator state where the dictator is treated as though

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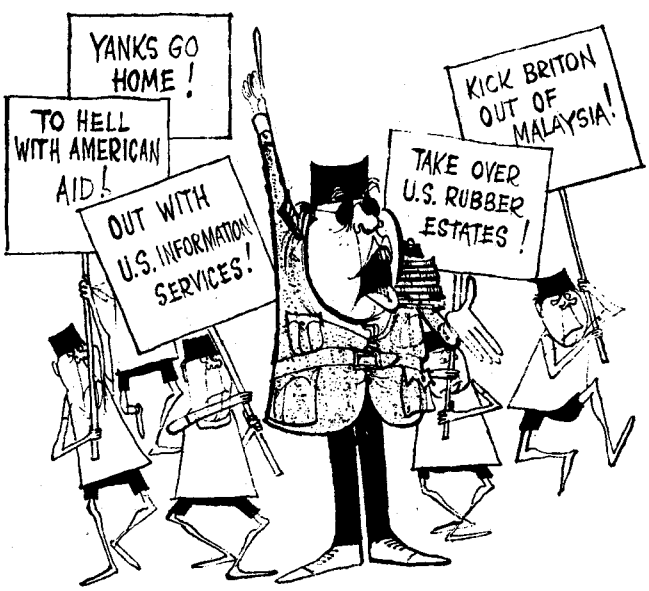
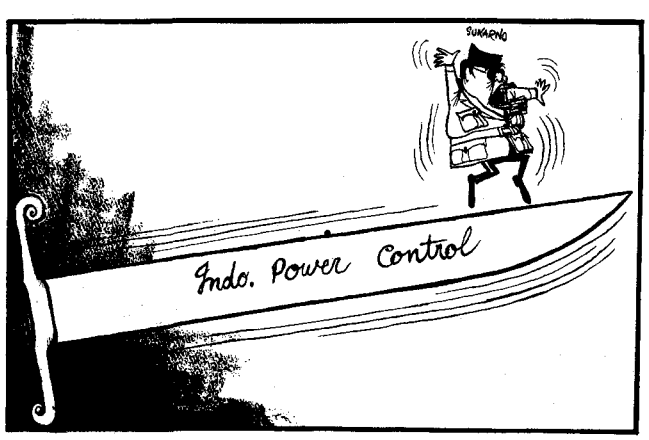
he were one part Kennedy, one part Cary Grant and one part Mr. Chips—and he finds a bankrupt nation where few go hungry. Why? The visitor begins to understand once he discards some of those imported misconceptions. The real point about the Indonesian army is that, in spite of its CRUSH MALAYSIA program (a huge private joke), it is scarcely a functioning army in the Western sense at all. In Jakarta, of course, it cuts an impressive sight. The army has plenty of bright new Toyota jeeps, bought with the last round of Japanese credits. The shops on the Pasar Baru, the city's main shopping street, are crowded with soldiers buying flashes and medals and brightly colored berets.

However, as my Indonesian friends were quick to point out, Jakarta is not Indonesia. In fact, on the map it represents only a pinprick on the chain of more than 3,000 islands that stretch from Thailand clear across to Australia. Take a look at the army in Sumatra or West Java. What I saw there made a very different picture. The tanks, bought five years ago from the Soviet Union, are much too heavy for the red dirt roads and frail bamboo bridges. The armored cars originally came from the United Kingdom but nowadays—thanks to the Malaysia confrontation—they are stalled for lack of the spare parts that Britain won't sell. The grease guns and M-1 carbines, a reminder of the days of U.S. aid, are presently getting by on stocks of Chinese ammunition. But since last November, when the army moved against the Communists, China has cut off aid.


YANKS GO HOME!
TO HELL WITH AMERICAN AID!
OUT WITH U.S. INFORMATION SERVICES!
TAKE OVER U.S. RUBBER ESTATES!
KICK BRITON OUT OF MALAYSIA!



King, Daily Telegraph, Australia: Ben Roth

Indonesian army officers smile when they tell you about these things. The truth is that this army—in spite of Sukarno's bluster—is not about to invade anybody. It is an army that knows exactly what it is doing, and what it is doing concerns the internal affairs of Indonesia. Since 1955, when General Nasution—the hero of the fight against the Dutch—came back to power, he has steadily enlarged the army's role in civilian life. And that's why, when the showdown came last September 30, the army was the only organization that could confront the Indonesian Communist Party at every level—from village to capital city. A second point is worth mentioning. As the Dutch possessions—about $2 billion worth—were taken over in 1957, the army moved in to assume the management. Since that time the army has steadily increased its control over Indonesian life. What is therefore emerging in Indonesia is a new kind of society—a military enterprise society in which the generals attend board meetings while the civilians attend militia exercises. It may be neither efficient nor practical from the American point of view; but, as Indonesians inevitably say, that's exactly the point. It is the Indonesian way.

I saw President Sukarno on three occasions: twice at the Merkeda (Freedom) Palace, and once in the palatial home he keeps for himself and his fourth wife, Devi (a strikingly beautiful 26-year-old Japanese girl whom he met on an earlier state visit to Japan). These three occasions were in no sense interviews. Sukarno made it clear that he no longer allows himself to be interviewed by "Necolim"—his acronym for neo-colonialist—journalists. On the first two occasions I was invited as a guest for morning coffee. Sukarno (like many Indonesians, the President has no first name) gets up every day at five. A devout Moslem, he prays, then returns from his private mosque in the palace. By seven, when coffee time begins—he has been up two hours—the guests arrive bleary-eyed. Outside the palace security is maximum and the visitor has to argue his way through a dozen check points before reaching the main gate. Surprisingly enough, once inside the palace the security precautions are almost nonexistent. No one, for example, searched Sukarno's visitors for arms. The coffee sessions are a pleasant custom that last from seven until eleven each weekday morning. The guests sit in cane easy chairs along a wide and open verandah looking out over the magnificent palace grounds. Behind Sukarno is a Sukarno oil painting (like Churchill and Eisenhower he is an amateur painter—a good one) and behind the oil painting *tchitchuks*—small green lizards—play an endless game of tag on the high white plaster walls.

At first sight, Sukarno is much less severe than his pictures. Also he seems a good deal younger than his 64 years. His morning attire is a pair of faded blue slacks reaching almost to his chest, an undershirt and no shoes. There are usually about thirty guests, a mixture of ambassadors, businessmen, and army generals. Sukarno turns from guest to guest, talking first in Japanese, then in Dutch, in Indonesian and finally in English. It is a bravura performance all right. In spite of the crisis that was clearly going on at the time, I don't recollect that a single telephone call disturbed the four hours of small talk. There are no servants present.

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Lawrence Gaynor

Instead, the President and party are attended by a detail of extremely pretty lady paratroopers—all of them, when not working the palace detail, part of the CRUSH MALAYSIA program.

Sukarno leads the conversation. At seven in the morning, his guests try to look alert. Sukarno talks! Coffee in one hand, an American cigarette in the other (he smokes seven a day), he urges everyone to eat more cake. Sukarno asks questions. Has anyone present kissed Joan Crawford? (He has.) Who has tasted Durian (a foul-smelling, sweet-tasting fruit known for its aphrodisiac qualities)? Why do American women carry such enormous handbags? You cannot use *kindly* in that manner: "You may say the Dutch Ambassador is a kind man, but you cannot ask Sukarno kindly questions. That is bad grammar." Again: "This is my most loyal general but the trouble is he speaks so softly I cannot hear what he says."

On and on through coffee time Sukarno talks. I think of Sulzberger of *The New York Times* sitting in the coffee shop at the Hotel Indonesia and writing another column about the "aging" Sukarno. Aging, no. Exhausting, yes!

The last time I saw the President was at Madame Devi's house in the outskirts of Jakarta. She was angry because *Time* had just shown a photograph of her in a bathing costume and had written that students had thrown garbage into her swimming pool. "Can you see a swimming pool?" she asked. The house had everything, including air conditioning, marble floors and a lighting switchboard not unworthy of Radio City Music Hall. But it did not have a swimming pool. It was late afternoon. Suddenly Sukarno entered the living room. The most singular memory I have of that meeting was Madame Devi's words as Sukarno, President for Life, Great Leader of the Revolution, plumped himself down on a Louis Quatorze sofa and propped his feet up on a crystal coffee table. She said—and I swear to it—"Did you have a hard day at the palace?" and Sukarno replied, "Yes. All morning I scolded the generals, all afternoon they scolded me."

Indonesia, as American editorial writers like to remind their readers, is an economic basket case. No comparable counterargument can be made, since Indonesia has seldom taken seriously such things as balance of payment or national income figures. It is no secret, however, that government tax receipts have fallen steadily over recent years. A further source of trouble has been the extraordinary rise in population of 3 per cent a year—total population was 80 million before the war, is 105 million now, and is expected to reach 120 million by the early 1970s. When to falling exports is added the fact that only 300,000 citizens out of 105 million pay taxes, the road to ruin—at least in theory—should already be there. "Why is it," asked an American journalist not long ago, "that these people don't riot like the Indians?" The answer is classically simple: the Indonesians have not been bothered by the adverse trade balance because they leave it alone. This has worked in the past because Indonesia (unlike India) is a phenomenon of nature, a land so rich in natural resources that crops have three seasons. It is quite literally a land where bananas drop from trees, where diamonds can be found on the ground and where the fish come to the fisherman.

Sukarno's blind spot has always been economics. He cannot abide the subject. It is entirely typical of his attitude that in the last cabinet the powerful post of Minister of Economics was held by a physician.

But change, and big change, is on its way in Indonesia. This will come about—indeed, is coming about—because Sukarno has made two serious mistakes. First he overplayed his hand with the Communists. Even after the September 30th attempt by the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) the President still tried to protect them. For example, he violently opposed the bloodbath that followed. He had to yield to the army and the Moslem party, and quite clearly it hurt him. Moreover, the army has now arrested virtually all his favorite ministers (including his hand-picked successor, Dr. Subandrio), charging them with corruption.

Second, he underestimated the students. And this is the most interesting point of all, for the students—the first post-revolutionary generation of Indonesians—have now emerged as a powerful political force in their own right. They are demanding an end to the chaos, the mismanagement and the corruption of the past. It is clear that this revolutionary situation did not come about through power-hungry generals or ambitious politicians. Yet it must be emphasized that at no time has there been any direct criticism of Sukarno himself. It is, however, astonishing that among the thousands of slogans daubed all over Jakarta, there is practically no LONG LIVE SUKARNO. Indonesia is witnessing this spring something far more interesting and significant than a *coup d'état*; an epoch is drawing to a close. In the palace a great man still lives out his days, but already a new generation is preparing to take over.

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THE CIA *(Continued from page 544)*

officers. The late Dorothy Thompson was a founder. Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick and William Ernest Hocking have been regulars. Earl Bunting, a former president of the National Association of Manufacturers, has served as chairman of the board of AFME. Eisenhower's pastor, Rev. L. R. Elson, was a national chairman of AFME. While insisting that he was certainly not "anti-Israel," he said he considered its creation to be "a diplomatic debacle." The Reverend Elson also said that the Zionist movement was as foreign to this country as the German-American Bund activities supporting Hitler before World War II.

AFME has always stressed the need to keep the Arab nations soothed in order to safeguard our oil interests in that area. Prominent Senators and Congressmen from oil states turn out for AFME soirees in Washington. On AFME's board is Kermit Roosevelt of Gulf Oil Company and, in his day, quite a government cloak-and-dagger man himself.

Hidden behind an Internal Revenue Service exemption that permits the AFME to keep secret the sources of its income, the anti-Zionist organization has spent money like a drunken sheik. For some time the CIA has been suspected of sinking money in the AFME. The suspicions were around long before Bushrod Howard, Jr., an agent for the Yemeni royalists, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1963: "Some are putting all the blame for the problem of the Middle East on Israel and American Jews. To counter these alleged evils they have, over the years, put some $4 million of government funds into an anti-Israel organization."

For some reason the committee didn't ask—and he didn't volunteer to say publicly—who "they" are or what the anti-Israel organization is. But many who follow the undercurrents of Middle Eastern affairs felt the answer to both was pretty obvious. The State Department, of course, issued a memorandum saying: "There is no factual basis for Mr. Howard's charge that U.S. officials support an anti-Israel organization."

The amounts going into the American Friends of the Middle East as uncovered by Group Research, Inc., are minuscule when compared to the $4 million rumor (they come to only $100,000); but at least they help fill out the history of the fund-channeling and put the State Department's demurrer in a questionable light. Up to now only the Dearborn Foundation and the San Jacinto Foundation, the latter a legitimate one (meaning, not a dummy for the CIA) backed by a Texas oil man, had been trailed into the tent of the AFME. These previous discoveries were made by I. L. Kenen, editor of *The Near East Report.*

Now, despite the hedging of those sly dogs in the IRS and the CIA, we know three more foundations that pump money into the anti-Zionist work. They are the Brown Foundation, the Jones-O'Donnell Foundation, and the Marshall Foundation. We also know that *those* foundations, in turn, received large donations from five other foundations which were cornered by Patman in the CIA-Kaplan gambit. There must be many other conduit foundations involved, so the game has really only begun.

LETTERS *(continued from page 538)*

map" would equate the desert reaches of Nevada with the highly populous areas where people live and watch television. Finally, Mr. Smith's run-down of bad practices by broadcasters is stated in a manner that would have your readers believe that misdemeanors or worse are common among broadcasters. The fact is that the wrongdoings are limited to a very small percentage of licensees whose practices, incidentally, are not applauded any more by their fellow broadcasters than by Mr. Smith himself.

Roy Danish, Director
Television Information Office

New York City

DEAR SIRS: The spectral wail emanating from the National Association of Broadcasters' very own Television Information Office was perhaps to be expected. I can understand Mr. Danish . . . being aroused by my remarks on the state of broadcasting in America. What I cannot understand is that he should dare to challenge my accuracy—unless he does so with a firm tongue in his cheek.

Item: It is utterly specious of Mr. Danish to talk of 4 per cent of Congress owning broadcast interests. What he is quoting is actual *licenses.* By this standard, the President of the United States has no broadcast interests since, by legal device, he is no longer the owner of any broadcasting interests in Texas. The one-third of Congress is a figure given to me by a member of the FCC. I have no reason to doubt it. The technique of using law firms, "blind" corporations, partners, wives, nephews, is too old and too familiar for anyone to be fooled by the mere 4 per cent of Congress who care to level with the public.

Item: Fatuous is the only word for the notion that broadcasters provide service when a single channel covers a city of more than a million people. It is no answer to say that that station carries all three TV networks. My concern is with choice—the station owner's or the public's? At the present time almost half the nation has to settle for the station owner's program choice. A minimum of three television channels should be available across the entire United States. Finally, it was not *my* run-down of bad practices but the Federal Communications Commission's—and they should know, should they not?

Desmond Smith

what the left hand does

Rice, Minn.

DEAR SIRS: The U. S. Supreme Court's five-to-four decision in the Ginzberg pornography action [editorial, *The Nation,* Apr.4] seems to be a case of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. For example: when the Justices take their oath of office they solemnly place their left hands on a book that contains records, as Thomas Paine said, of obscene stories, voluptuous debaucheries, torturous executions and unrelenting vindictiveness that have served to corrupt and brutalize mankind.

Would it take a Supreme Court appeal in a criminal action against Holy Bible publishers to acquaint the learned gentlemen with the contents of the book they treat with such reverence?

Stewart Graves

Ford lore

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIRS: For a history of the Ford Peace Expedition of 1915-17, I would appreciate hearing from anyone having letters, diaries, reminiscences, photographs or other pertinent information. Please address: 2801 Quebec St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008.

Barbara S. Kraft

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Paris Falls Again—Into This World

PAUL ZWEIG

Mr. Zweig received his doctorate from the Sorbonne. He is a poet who lives and teaches in France, and at the summer session at Columbia University.

Paris has committed the indiscretion of outliving itself. Or, to put it another way, perhaps more accurately, those who come to Paris looking for smoke-filled Gothic basements, and some allegorical shadow composed of part Ezra Pound, part F. Scott Fitzgerald and part Henry Miller—looking, in short, for a certain moveable feast, find instead a live city well known for its traffic jams, its irritability, and a lack of genius at least as noticeable as in England or America. Paris has come down with all the modern illnesses, including the automobile, the snack bar, plastic-covered café tables and neon. It has insisted on keeping up with itself. When André Malraux several years ago ordered centuries of dirt to be washed off the monuments and houses along the main arteries, there was a shudder of tenderness for all that venerable filth to be done away with so brutally. Today, we have had grudgingly to recognize that Paris, as a result, is more strangely beautiful than it has been for decades.

The fact is that this city has become a problem. For generations it has been a kind of cultural Tahiti: exotically serious, refined or naughty, compared to which every place else (and especially America) seemed crass and culturally undernourished. It has now been located on the map of real places. One now actually comes to Paris; spends days, months or years here. The voyage is measured only in money—a commodity which seems to be more widely available than imagination—so that, after a short subway ride over the ocean, the summer (or winter) traveler gets out not in *Paris* but in a real place named Paris. This is surely what was meant by a recent article in *The New York Times Magazine,* entitled "The Third Fall of Paris." After having fallen to the Germans, Paris has at last fallen into the world: it has rheumatism, growing pains, crises, ugly suburbs, some monstrous edifices, three-star restaurants with bad food, impudent waiters. Life in the happy islands is not supposed to be like this. A little more, and Paris will be as bad as New York; in fact it may actually be New York.

When all this is said, however, there remains a problem which cannot be traced to the nostalgia for some former Paris that may never entirely have existed. More and more Frenchmen are becoming aware of a change in the cultural atmosphere of Paris. The sociologist, Michel Crozier, in a recent article, speaks of a *crise de la culture*. The crisis takes many forms; some are institutional, concerning the university, the situation of the art galleries or the financial fiasco of Parisian concert orchestras. In order to dramatize this last dilemma, the director of the Conservatory orchestra announced some weeks ago that his society would play no contemporary French composers, and would be ultra-traditional in choosing its programs. This was meant as a gesture of protest against the badly organized setup of Parisian music which makes it too much of a financial gamble to present any but the most popular programs. What seems to be needed is a complete reorganization of both concert halls and orchestras, in addition to an ample subsidy from the government.

Although Paris has never been especially noted for its musical activity, the case of the university is different. The Sorbonne, in many people's minds, still carries some of its formidable weight of the Middle Ages, when academic and theological orthodoxy throughout Europe was ruled by its authority. The *Docteurs en Sorbonne* today, however, belong to a different breed, and preside over an institution which, since the war, has become increasingly gouty, fossilized and overcrowded. Students attending a popular course in literature (the situation is the same in most of the standard disciplines) may wait in line for an hour to get a seat. When they do get in, bodies will be spread in the aisles, on the podium, along the window ledges, almost on the professor's desk. A thousand students pack into an auditorium meant for several hundred. Classroom procedure, in the case of the more prestigious and stuffy professors, is scholastic: an auditorium of open notebooks inscribes, word by word, the entire lecture of the authority who speaks slowly enough so that nothing will be lost. Between the ear and the finger tips there is no room for distortion, or disagreement. Rigid exams insure the student's docility.

The classroom scene dramatizes a contradiction in the French spirit which Tocqueville commented on a hundred years ago. The French, he says, are remarkable for their unruliness and "individualism" in all the small matters of life; but when they are faced with an authority in black robes who undertakes to resolve the larger doubts, they are inclined to respect him more or less unquestioningly. Behind the Sorbonne professor stands the combined shadow of de Gaulle, Louis-Phillipe, Napoleon and Louis XIV. Tocqueville's explanation for this trait of the French character applies surprisingly to today's overcrowded, overworked and docile university. The cause, he felt, lay in the amazingly centralized administration which had emptied the provinces of any need, or ability, to decide public matters locally. One result was to drain France of all local and personal initiative, turning the capital city, Paris, into a cultural oasis for all of Europe, but also into an overburdened administrative monstrosity. The situation today has scarcely changed, especially as far as the university is concerned. With some exceptions, it is unheard of for a professor to make his career in one of the provincial universities. What is more, few French students will undertake a doctorate in any faculty other than the Sorbonne. Some Sorbonne professors have as many as 100 theses to direct, while an equivalent professor at Grenoble or Bordeaux may well have none.

The situation reached such a degree of absurdity that several years ago the student union began a series of protest movements, culminating in a project to occupy the Sorbonne overnight. This produced the edifying spectacle of 5,000 policemen deployed shoulder to shoulder throughout the Latin Quarter, refusing passage to anyone under middle age. That night I slept at a friend's apartment, since I could convince no one in the opposing army that I really lived there, behind the enemy lines.

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that so much of the intellectual life in Paris has long since rejected the university. Poets and novelists shun the academic life. Even philosophers like Sartre and Camus found academic restrictions too stifling. One sign of change, in this respect, is the creation of a number of parallel institutes, such as L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Pratiques, which sprout half in and half out of the university and tend to be somewhat less oppressive in their outlook. These half measures, however, are far from being satisfactory, and have had the curious effect of drawing

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into a sort of academic limbo men like Lucien Goldmann, Roland Barthes or Henri Lefebvre who, after years of resistance, seem only too happy to be institutionalized in this way.

Aside from the problem of institutions, there is, however, another, more elusive dimension of this *crise de la culture* in France. Paris for centuries has been a center from which cultural values were generated. One thinks of the years following the war when Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, Camus, Simone de Beauvoir and Genet created an atmosphere of expectation and intellectual excitement. Talents like those of Adamov, Beckett and Ionesco were revealed. After the Second World War, as after the First, Europe and America discovered the heart of their moral and creative dilemma in the cultural world of Paris. The expectation of those years, however, did not materialize. Two decades later, one feels more and more that the genius of the postwar period has done little to renew itself, with the exception perhaps of Genet whose theatrical talent reached its peak a decade later, during the 1950s. The career of a man like Sartre is exemplary, largely because of the vigor and the intellectual honesty which has prevailed in all of his writings. One follows the disarray of a brilliant mind and a moralist who has spent his life searching for a coherence which finally escapes him. There is, in the end, no progression—only a casting about for new, and always disappointing, positions. The early work, *l'Etre et le Neant,* remains his most permanent effort. Sartre's failure—if one can speak of failure in a man of his undeniable stature—has become exemplary of a larger failure in French culture.

The years of the war formed a watershed. The experience of those years, and of the intense political activity which followed, was a hard school for those who had then just reached maturity and who now, twenty years later, occupy the center of the cultural scene in Paris. In many ways they form a decimated generation. The Resistance was far from a general uprising against the Nazi invaders, but those who risked their lives, and lost them, were often the best: the most lucid and the most courageous. What's more, the ideological climate of Paris during the late forties and fifties was scarcely conducive to the kind of reflectiveness that is required by a creative mind. The failed revolution of 1945 had not discouraged a general sense of impending change; an almost apocalyptic expectation which was organized by a powerful, but extremely conformist, Communist party. Few intellectuals were not touched by the party; few resisted the terrible conformity of thought and action which it imposed on its members. When, after 1956, more and more of the most articulate among them left the party or were excluded from it, they remained marked in curious ways by so many years of repressed inventiveness and self-reflection.

This ideological habit of mind has, I think, tended to reinforce a trait of the French literary imagination which has long been apparent in many of its greatest triumphs, and which can be summarized, as simply as possible, as an excessive distrust of reality. The force of men as different as Rousseau, Baudelaire or Valéry lies in their refusal to accept a compromise with what life has to offer, attempting, instead, to discover some absolute spiritual strength that would change their lives. When such a habit of mind, of itself often extremely fruitful, is reinforced by an ideological refusal to accept, on any terms whatsoever, the compromised realities of bourgeois society, the result may be a strange impoverishment of the imagination; a refusal to touch those parts of oneself that have inevitably been molded by one's society: one's childhood, one's emotions, even one's language. It creates a moral atmosphere which may have a curious corrosive strength, a power of destruction that is not always unwanted, but which is eventually hostile to artistic creativity.

Among other things, there was a newspaper interview with Sartre which touched on a book by a young poet, René Abadiou, entitled *Amalgeste.* The book is an assemblage of verbal pyrotechnics, in which all the syntactical links that make language communicable are shattered in many ingenious ways. The result is an all but incomprehensible poem, simply in terms of its grammatical arrangement. One thinks of Mallarmé who, in all but a few poems, is clear as water compared with most of *Amalgeste.* This book, according to Sartre, represents a heroic effort to break the heaviest of those chains that bind an artist to the compromises and the moral obscenity of bourgeois society: the chains of language which, as we all know, are permeated by the values of the society whose vehicle it is. Sartre has often been accused of being an anti-artist, and statements like this help us to understand why.

The phenomenon of the *nouveau roman* can be understood in similar terms. The young men associated with this movement are grouped, in part, around the magazine *Tel Quel,* and their most respected elder is Alain Robbe-Grillet. Robbe-Grillet's literary style is *nouveau* indeed, but in a way which makes the reader wonder if the newness is not simply one of omission rather than of genuine insight. Nowhere in Robbe-Grillet's novels do we find the kind of narrative, description or dialogue which is intended to dramatize an emotional conflict; for, in the world of Robbe-Grillet's novels, there are no emotions. His characters perceive things and one another with the regularity of a photographic cell. His style carries Camus' *prose blanche* a step further in the direction of impersonality: it is the clear concise prose of department store catalogues and legal assessment sheets. Dramatic interest, when it is sustained, cannot depend on any insight (or lack of it) attributed to the characters. Instead, it must invoke clever tricks of plot and narrative, intriguing the reader less by what he learns than by what he hasn't yet learned about the story. It is the technique of detective stories where plot is more important than psychological penetration. It is not surprising that Robbe-Grillet's most successful novels are really detective stories. His world resembles nothing better than the deadened, ghostly world of schizophrenia, minus the eruptions of terror and lucidity, a kind of schizophrenic utopia.

These characteristics, which certainly place Robbe-Grillet's version of the *nouveau roman* at the far limit of what is artistically possible, are not accidental. They reflect a desire to renovate the traditional novel in one very important respect: to eliminate from it the complicated, "used out" insights of "bourgeois subjectivism." The emotions of private life have decayed into a series of conventions which have to be broken and, according to the French literary critic Roland Barthes, Robbe-Grillet's novels do just that. They reject all forms of subjective sensibility, as soiled by bourgeois values. One wonders whether so radical a cure has not also killed the patient. Robbe-Grillet's "revolutionary" point of view echoes, unexpectedly, the Stalinist judgment on bourgeois subjectivity; and the aesthetic of the *nouveau roman* simply carries a step further the dictates of Socialist realism: a step further, because Robbe-Grillet not only exorcises the private emotions but the public ones (patriotism, devotion to an ideology, etc.) as well.

In the world of music, Pierre Boulez continues to make his influence felt, both as composer and conductor. His direction last winter of Alban Berg's opera *Wozzeck* was memorable; and his encouragement has certainly helped young composers like Paul Mefano, who are sure to be heard from within the next few years. The regular concerts of the *Domaine Musical* have given new life to the activities of experimental, contemporary music in Paris. In another field of musical activity, the young harpsichordist, Raphael Puyana, continues his career, with concerts and new records, and is already being recognized as the most gifted per-

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former on the instrument since Wanda Landowska.

Both painting and the theatre are examples of how Paris still is—and is not—the cultural capital of Europe. All winter there were important showings in galleries and museums. At the Bibliothèque Nationale an exhibit of the world's greatest engravings; at the Modern Art Museum an exciting exhibit of the Fauves. Elsewhere, a collection of van Gogh's drawings. The Orangerie has opened again, exhibiting the famous Guillaume-Walter collection. [See Maurice Grosser, *The Nation,* May 2.] Among the younger contemporary painters, the only major exhibit has been that of Bernard Buffet, who has become a kind of fixture in the world of cocktail-party aesthetes, presenting his collection each spring, along with the other high-fashion collections.

The theatre season has also been an exciting one. There have been fine revival productions of Giradoux's *La Folle de Chaillot,* and of several very amusing plays by Feydeau. Two short pieces by Pinter, *The Collection* and *The Lover,* are currently having a successful run. But a list of the most interesting plays reveals few new ones worth mentioning, and a goodly majority of those are by foreign authors. Among the new French plays, Barrault's production of *Une Journée Entière Dans Les Arbres,* by Marguerite Duras, made a good evening. Another notable exception is *La Promenade du Dimanche* by a young playwright, Georges Michel, who was discovered several years ago by Sartre. His first play, *Les Jouets,* was also quite successful.

Paris is not a desert, not a backwater community left behind by some high tide that has flowed on elsewhere. It is a city with difficulties that can be understood. Despite the present "crisis" there are voices that manage to be heard, mostly old, but some new ones too. A pantheon of venerable old shadows still haunts the horizon of French cultural life, much as poets like Eliot, Pound or Williams in America lived far on into a world that had begun to live without them. Henri Michaux, René Char, Saint-John Perse, André Malraux, Henri de Montherlant, Picasso, Chagal, André Masson, André Breton—all the old greats of the *entre deux guerres* are still here. Their presence makes even more dramatic the strange hollow sound which we have become accustomed to hearing from those who are a generation closer to us.

The open question, of course, concerns the great numbers of younger people; those who are near 30 today, and to whom what I have described can apply only partly. They have the difficult task of inventing everything for themselves, of making things over again; and, what is more discouraging, of addressing themselves to gallery owners and publishers and a public who will find difficulty in recognizing their new language, once it has been found. It is the very familiar battle of the generations: the three ages of man, forever succeeding one another in unpeaceful order. What simply makes the battle sharper and more difficult in Paris today is the curious emptiness which seems to have made itself a virtue for the middle of those three ages.

Identity Crisis

THE IDENTITY OF MAN. *By J. Bronowski. The Natural History Press. 108 pp. $3.95.*

FREDERICK H. GARDNER
Mr. Gardner has been on the board of editors of Scientific American. *He is now writing a book about Lillian Hellman.*

As the bill for science rose in the years following World War II, many educated laymen began to question its value and its values. The crass excuse that science serves military ends only made them ask with more urgency: doesn't it have anything better to do? Replies in lectures, books and the mass media came from a number of scientists, ex-scientists and journalists who wanted to explain the nature of scientific work, and to distinguish it from technology, military and otherwise. It turned out that the expositors were gifted. By the end of the 1950s, they had managed to evoke public discussion of such topics as automatic control, cybernation and the proper role of scientists in government. The most prominent subject, of course, was the two cultures—C. P. Snow's label for science, art, and the relationship between them.

One of the earliest and most successful efforts to shed light on science by comparing it to art was made by J. Bronowski in a special issue of *The Nation* (see "Science and Human Values," December 29, 1956). Bronowski, a Polish-born, English-trained mathematician, literary scholar and philosopher, observed that the acts of discovery in science and creation in art are identical in some respects. The insight was shared by Snow, who developed its political implications. Snow said that Western culture suffered in its anti-scientific lopsidedness because it could not appreciate the ethics generated by the practice of science. He accused faction-minded intellectuals of fostering hostility and mutual misunderstanding between the two realms of human accomplishment. Soon F. R. Leavis, a critic, provided living proof of Snow's point by counterattacking. The acrimony and the involvement of a critic created a fad, and it became fashionable to argue whether physicists appreciate Botticelli more than painters appreciate Torricelli.

Bronowski has tried to restore seriousness to the discussion. His afterthoughts on the two cultures, presented in four lectures at the American Museum of Natural History in March, 1964, comprise the present volume.

Nowadays, Bronowski perceives, man is undergoing a third crisis of confidence, akin to the one brought on by Galileo's hint that our planet does not occupy a vaunted place in the universe, and to the crisis precipitated by Darwin's idea that man is just another animal. The source of present misgiving is twofold: living and dead matter are alike, and machines can do what we think is thinking. In the wake of these revelations man wonders—or philosophers do, on his behalf—whether he is a machine or a self.

Bronowski's answer is: "a machine by birth but a self by experience." We thus use two languages, one to describe the machinery of nature and another to describe the thoughts and feelings of other men. We are not schizoid, however, be-

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cause the languages grow in parallel directions. For example, the discovery of the electron by J. J. Thompson ("he added a new word, that is, a new concept") is analogous to the coining of the word *Blitzkrieg* because both events represent "a massive packing into a single idea of a whole new strategy of organization." Bronowski also finds the languages comparable in their ambiguity. He takes issue with the long-standing view that the terms of science are one-dimensional, arguing that the history of science makes every concept tentative and every term richer than its definition of the moment.

Not only the language and practice of science but the findings of science, too, indicate that the machinery of nature admits of diversity and individuality. It is now known, for instance, that an animal's eye sends the brain a message geared to the special needs of the animal. Thus a frog, which may have to save its life by jumping from foliage into a pond, is particularly sensitive to blue, the color of the sky over the pond. Bronowski is at his very best as he describes such phenomena in his lucid manner, piling examples on top of one another to substantiate his point. And yet there are times when his facility seems dangerous, when he grows overconfident in his belief that anything can be broken down into simple blocks and reassembled to form a neat structure.

The expositor's hubris mars the important chapter in which Bronowski, having established parallels between science and art, looks for the quintessential differences. Discussing *King Lear*, he points out that Edmund speaks for "Epicurean nature, the chaotic play of atoms in which there is no law but the survival of the fittest"; Edgar for "the grave Stoic dispensation in which everything has a natural place"; and, interestingly, "the two conceptions of nature, the small-scale disorder and the large-scale order, the statistical play between them, these are the very stuff of modern science." He then goes on to generalize: "But in science they have to be resolved. . . . We act in science with decision in the face of these uncertainties. We form theories which resolve, locally and for specific uses, the conflict between the two concepts. The point of *King Lear* and of all literature, tragic or comic, is that there is no such resolution."

Why is Bronowski not content to make a nice point about *King Lear*? Why is he constrained to sum up all literature (and by implication all art, since he has chosen literature as the easiest form to discuss)? Perhaps he shares the feeling of Shaw and Toynbee and A. J. P. Taylor that philosophy calls for overstatement rather than qualifier and counter-example. I offer this defense, not knowing if Bronowski

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would make it on his part, and not prepared to accept it on mine. An effective overstatement can seem untenable; but it cannot seem preposterous, as some of Bronowski's do.

Here is one: "Literature does not try to provoke in us the response of action, and therefore does not need to resolve its ambiguities." Bronowski might have said that literature never succeeds in provoking action; but to deny that some writers *try* to provoke action seems careless in a world that has read Brecht. (That self-explainer is on record as wanting his work to "arouse a capacity to action.")

Bronowski once wrote that "science is the acceptance of what works and the rejection of what does not." I do not think the most ambitious section of *The Identity of Man* works, but I do not urge its rejection at all. For one thing, the sheer audacity of someone trying "to create again a coherent philosophy of man" is stunning. The book is written in a splendid personal style (hearing the lectures I attributed the flamboyance to Bronowski's delivery; reading them I see that it's in the prose). Finally, Bronowski adds a symmetry to the whole discussion of the two cultures when he describes the values generated by artistic creation (the discussion had previously concerned the values generated by scientific practice). It was man the artist, Bronowski thinks, who developed tolerance and respect for other men and for their work and views and feelings.

Tortuous Shore

THE DISCOVERY OF TIME. *By Stephen Toulmin and June Goodfield. Harper & Row. 280 pp. $6.95.*

CHESTER JOHNSON

Mr. Johnson is a free-lance science and technology editor and writer, presently on special assignment to the book division of Time-Life. *He is the author of* Clocks and Watches *(Odyssey Press).*

"A thing measured," said an ancient Roman, "is never lost except time itself." Since then the very concept of time has been all but lost—it was never, until recently, a timely topic with Western philosophers, theologians, historians or scientists. In comparison with other ideas (such as the quantity of angels capable of dancing on the heads of pins) it appeared obscure and irrelevant—or, for reasons of religious dogma, not a fit thing to be discussed out of its theological context. Over the past fifty-four centuries time has been measured in a variety of ingenious ways, but conceptualized in very few. As a concept it has remained an out of the way and untapped reservoir beside the mainstreams of the humanities, and a comparatively way-out concept with the scientific disciplines. Only within the last two centuries has our concept of time developed grander dimensions than those measured by hours, minutes or even millennia. Most books on time have been, therefore, about time measurement; fascinating as most of them are, they make (with a few very recent exceptions) almost no mention of other aspects of time. Only in the last decade has the exploration of the concept of time become an in-thing with the Two Cultures —and consequently with fingers-on-the-pulse publishers.

Although until now unremarked, the idea of time has had its own history within the evolution of Western thought—and the study of this history has opened new dimensions not only to scholars but to the general reader looking for something new in nonfiction. From anthropology to Zwinglianism, whatever one's leisure "discipline," it can be refocused and refreshed by reading the three or four new and unique books about time: *Man and Time* by J. B. Priestley; *The Voices of Time,* edited by J. T. Frazer; and—the subject of this review—*The Discovery of Time,* a profile of the tortuous shore lines of thought Western man has had to navigate in order to glimpse time's mythical, philosophical, historical, geological, biological and cosmic horizons. Most would read this book, a general history of our concepts of time, first; the other two volumes (which are more expensive) use a much more particularized, nonsequential, "special effect" approach. Drs. Toulmin and Goodfield combine both philosophy and science in their academic (including Oxford) backgrounds; their book is the third in a series of four outlining the ancestry of science, the two previous being *The Fabric of the Heavens* and *The Architecture of Matter.*

The authors' first three chapters outline the first faint prismatic fringes in man's myopic view of time. Philosophers of the Ionian school were the first to speculate empirically on the nature of time, suggesting (as did Anaximander of Miletus) that man was generated from inferior forms of life—in other words, his becoming human took time. The later Athenian divorce of history and philosophy put a stop to this—by Plato's time all such speculations were in disfavor: events were seen as being the visible facets of the invisible structures of eternal reality. Historicity lacked the concepts of progression or essential change, order in the universe was considered changeless—and it was this sense of timelessness which permeated Western thought for the next 2,000 years. Plato concluded that God was time-transcending; Aristotle held that all living species had neither origin nor end. For the Greeks, time was infinite in both directions, worldly phenomena were but ripples on the surface of the unfathomable, a consequence of vast, never-ending cycles generated by "eternal verities" in the ahistorical heavens.

Official Christianity, although somewhat influenced by Aristotelian and Platonic modalities, rejected this cyclic version of the continuum; Adam and Eve had fallen

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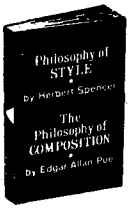

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c) Diem and the U.S. government refused to participate in discussions.

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once, not over and over again. Although God was time-transcending, the Word was God's parenthesis in time; within this parenthesis—the pivotal point being the advent of the Messiah—time related only to human experience under God. Time outside this theological context was meaningless; outside the parenthesis of the Word it was unthinkable. Throughout most of the history of Western thought the concepts of God and time were, therefore, not separate. St. Augustine took time out from his confessions to speculate mildly about the possible contingencies of pasts, presents and futures, but dogmatists refused to tolerate scriptural boat rockers who might (perhaps in reference to fossils) ask other than theologically circumscribed questions about the history of earth and the nature of earthly time. Judeo-Christian man was not, understandably, very curious about the nature of time. To medieval man, time was an unimportant parameter of human experience, personified by dancing death until the final trumpet blast.

The authors then proceed to trace a re-examination of the world's history as it became freer from Catholic and Protestant party lines. Renaissance historical criticism, with its questions of social decay, change and intimations of progress, could—lacking the insights and hard edges of scientific facts—effect only a slight crack in the orthodox capsule. The artifacts of time: lithified sediments of primordial sea beds; convulsed rock strata, those geological fragments of a continent's earlier incarnations; stone tools used by the earliest of men—all were at hand (Da Vinci found fossil sea shells on mountains), but most went unrecognized or unacknowledged until their implications became unavoidably clear to minds attuned to phenomenological continuity catalyzed by change, evolution and the progression of events.

Recognizing change was necessary in order to understand time, but recognizing some form of evolution—social, biological, geological—was necessary in order to understand change. Giambattista Vico of Naples postulated in 1720 that human history is a continuous process managed by divine providence, but his theory simply sank out of sight in the mire of traditionalist thought; as long as there were the eternal verities, there was no need to verify the temporalities of this world. By the early 19th century, biologists and geologists, stewing within a theologically confined conceptual pressure cooker, had accumulated enough pressure of evidence to raise the lid. Even as late as the 1830s, lightning flashes of geological insight into the murk surrounding the earth's real past drew thunderclaps of orthodox condemnation; scriptural authority (and even its evolution was denied) could still sound alarm bells in the minds of the faithful.

By mid-century archaeological discoveries (Layard's unearthing of Nineveh) revealed that Babylonians, Assyrians and Egyptians could not, in contrast to Old Testament heroes, be conveniently confined to scripture's side lines. Earth and man were beginning to acquire an irrefutable history, and life itself a demonstrable genealogy. Realizing that the world was not born from the Word on October 27, 4004 B.C. at 6 o'clock in the morning was the shock that shook the theologically drugged sleepwalkers awake. God's parenthesis (not to mention the Ark) now had to accommodate not only varieties of extinct plants and some truly vast reptiles, but flint tools in certain conjunction with fossil mammals —and Darwin's *Origin of Species* and *Descent of Man* as well. Man had at last begun to discover geological and biological time, a perspective far grander than the Garden of Eden.

The last chapters of the book discuss the beginnings of a unified approach to the study of time, highlighted by the rival theories of the universe's origin: Big Bang, Steady State and Oscillating. In the process of scientifically discovering new aspects to time we find the old emphasis of the problem rephrased: does time exist apart not from the Word but from the universe; will time continue to exist after the universe ends; is the universe eternal; is it a function of time or time of it? Theologians are still trying to focus our telescopes on their answers; Pope Pius XII, for example, welcomed the Big Bang theory (the universe as created at a "point" in time by a primordial nuclear explosion) as being the closest in concept, although some 6 to 12 billion years more remote in time, to the Creation pictured in Genesis.

Although we are left with these currently unanswerable questions, the authors make it clear how far we have come in the discovery of time: man has revealed himself to be not the tragically flawed hero of a special creation but a recent and changeable animal related to other more or less ancient (but mostly changeable) animals—all living on a planet of vast antiquity bearing traces of life at least half as old as itself. In discovering time against a background of secular history he discovered himself as the cultural heir of vanished civilizations. In discovering time as an attribute of certain aspects of space and matter he discovered himself and his own continuum in reference to that of the universe.

The authors could also have demonstrated—although they unfortunately fail to do so—that man's discovery of time characterized his thought on just about everything else: between Eastern and West-

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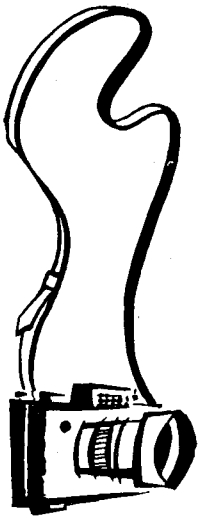
ern concepts there are striking dissimilarities, in strong enough contrast to outline whole silhouettes of historical and philosophical profile. Concepts of time are beautifully analytical factors of thought. Chinese concepts of time were in many ways much more highly developed than ours, and along some weird and fascinating avenues. Why is there almost no mention of other than Western concepts of time in this history? The authors could, at least in passing, have touched on (as do in detail the other two books mentioned) Chinese and even Indian concepts.

Although chronological, *The Discovery of Time* often lacks a sense of time within its own context. There used to be a convention kept by mandarins: when discussing history (especially Chinese) one avoided the mention of dates; it smacked of commerce and bill collecting, and demeaned the majesty of the moment. Scholars Toulmin and Goodfield forget that many of their readers will lose their way in a history of concepts scanty with dates. There is thus a discursive vagueness, although they give us fine focus with great depth and detail, and an uneasy sense of interfringing fuzziness between the various concepts and conceptualizers involved. The later chapters are compressed; on entering the main stretch the authors plug on through many of the complex phases without stopping to wrap up neatly those gourd-like questions growing in the reader's mind: who, for example, first recognized fossils?

The index (oh, editors' bane!) is only token; it does not even mention fossils. As the reader nears the epilogue, the authors guiltily recapitulate material that they have not made clear earlier. But these criticisms, compared to the almost unique character and focus of the book, are nit pickings. *The Discovery of Time,* although unpathed and brambly here and there, is about the only fully modern study known to this reviewer on the history of the discovery of the concept of time.



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The Stone and the Sermon

OMENSETTER'S LUCK. *By William H. Gass. The New American Library. 304 pp. $5.95.*

SHAUN O'CONNELL

Mr. O'Connell teaches English at the University of Massachusetts.

"If there is any difficulty in reading what I write it is because of the material I use. In my case the thought is always simple." Joyce's comment on *Ulysses* suggests a useful approach to *Omensetter's Luck*. For the "material" of Gass' novel—involuted characters, confusing happenings and a bizarre, knotted prose style—is quite difficult; however, when pressed into shape, this material supports thematic concerns which, if not quite "simple," are as basic and human as the distinction between life and death. Gass' characters are driven to ask what life *is*. Should one be like a stone, dead to the world he lives in, or should one risk the "painful beauty" of a real involvement with life? Fortunately, these abstractions are not free-floating; they underlie a vividly textured surface.

Brackett Omensetter—"a wide and happy man" who settles with his family in Gilean, Ohio in the 1880s—gets under everybody's skin because he seems to live all the way inside life, fulfilled in the things of this world. He is all instinct and his instincts are invariably right; he knows when it will rain, how high a flood will rise, even the sex of his unborn baby. Israbestes Tott is an old town storyteller who can "remember everything" about the past of Gilean. He sees Omensetter's luck in his ability "to lose the heaviness of life." Henry Pimber—Omensetter's cursed, unlucky landlord—goes even further. Pimber thought Omensetter was like a cloud, that he "knew the secret—how to be." Or, putting it another way, Omensetter was a paradox; while he gave himself completely to material things he remained, completely, himself. Pimber saw the chance for personal resurrection, in this world, in Omensetter's example, "the chance of being new . . . of living lucky, and of losing Henry Pimber." When he realizes that Omensetter's instinctive union with life is qualified by self-consciousness he hangs himself from a tall oak tree.

Jethro Furber—a sex-haunted, God-intoxicated minister on the far edge of self-control, a characterization which owes much to the Reverend Hightower of Faulkner's *Light in August*—is most troubled by Omensetter. *"Whatever Omensetter does he does without desire in the ordinary sense, with a stony mindlessness that makes me always think of Eden,"* Furber thinks. He realizes the subversive implications of Omensetter's life; its unself-consciousness challenges Furber's attempt to make his life *mean* something or other; its commitment to this life mocks Furber's desire for death and questions the existence of another life. As Furber says in a sermon, "we are here [in the world] —yes—yet we do not belong. . . . Anything that draws us nearer to this life and puts us in desire of it is deeply wrong and greatly deceives us." Furber comes to see, like Pimber, that Omensetter is less one with life than he seems. Furber survives Omensetter's challenge and proves that modes of awareness and detachment are, too, life. These characters embody the tensions of Gass' novel. How much death is there in life, how much life in death?

Circumstances in the novel are concrete, vivid, far out, like the incident which combines two arm infections and the death of an unlucky fox. Omensetter got a thumb infection from a splinter, paid no attention to it, just laughed when the blacksmith's hammer missed its mark and burst his swelling. "Pus flew nearly across the shop. Omensetter measured the distance it shot and smiled with pride, washing the wound in the barrel without a word." Then a fox fell down a dry well. But Omensetter refused to interfere with the natural order of events. "He'll have to stay . . ." Omensetter said firmly. "Spring will float him to the top." This was too much for Pimber; he took his shotgun and shot the fox with both barrels. He knew that he was really trying to kill the mindlessness which Omensetter represented. Pimber was struck by a ricochet of buckshot, got infected and, Pimber's luck, lockjaw. No one could help but, of course, Omensetter, who "made a poultice of mashed raw red beet and bound it to

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the wound with rags." This absurd remedy works and Pimber—who shot the fox because he felt Omensetter "took no care with . . . life"—has Omensetter to thank for his life. Before Gass interests you in the philosophical basis of his work he draws you into a knotty, bizarre world of circumstances.

Stylistically his novel is, in complexity, like *Ulysses* or *Absalom, Absalom!*; Gass is, in his own way, quite as successful as Joyce or Faulkner. Stephen Dedalus' statement—"hold to the now, the here, through which all future plunges to the past"—serves as a built-in justification of the concrete style of *Ulysses*. Like Stephen, characters in *Omensetter's Luck* serve as aesthetic apologists. Early in the novel Israbestes Tott contrasts free imaginative indulgence with fact-bound, historical reconstruction. Tott's reflections on the uses of the imagination serve as a parable for a novel which is not an exercise in imaginative self-indulgence but an effort to reconstruct the solid histories of men caught in life. Furber, similarly, states an aesthetic rationale for the novel when he says, "please remember that I always speak in figure . . . through emblem and design, you understand. They enlarge my voice like cupped hands." Because "the body of every symbol [is] absurd," so is his own body, Jesus' body, even Omensetter's body. Thus, Furber feels, he is justified in going beyond the stones of reality to the sermons he knows to be in stones. So too does Gass' novel evoke a rich, sometimes absurd surface and then push beyond it to essences. Just as it was for Joyce and Faulkner, rhetoric is the bridge. Hyped-up, jagged, imagistic prose ranges from the lyrical to the scatological. It even leaps its bounds into witty verse.

Creep away, sneak away, leak away
—hide
There are animals hunting in Furber's
inside.

Finally everything bears on the same points, the novel coheres. Style, characterizations and themes all center on a vital tension between two poles—the real and ideal, the concrete and abstract, the symbol and meaning, the stone and the sermon. The novel works in dialectics and paradoxes, like a Donne poem. While it is true that "men, like all things, resist their essence, and seek the sweet oblivion of the animal—a rest from themselves that's but an easy counterfeit of death," it is clear from other evidence in the novel that this is not the whole truth. There is much to be said for Omensetter's way. As Furber says, in a poignant prayer, "Heavenly Father, You may call our soul our best, but this, our body, is our love."

William H. Gass, who teaches philosophy at Purdue University, has written a difficult, dazzling first novel, important in its stylistic achievement and haunting in its dramatic evocation of the most essential human questions.

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RECORDS / Benjamin Boretz

SCHUBERT: *Die Winterreise;* Six Songs. Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, baritone; Jörg Demus, piano. DGG 139 201/202.

WOLF: Mörike Lieder. Hermann Prey, baritone; Gerald Moore, piano (with Pfitzner: Eichendorff Lieder). London 5946/25946. Evelyn Lear, soprano; Erik Werba, piano. DGG 138 979.

Fischer-Dieskau's performances have tended to become less idiosyncratic recently; he has seemed progressively more interested in singing the pieces being performed than in offering hyped-up readings of the poems, more or less on pitch. The present recording of *Die Winterreise* is notably superior in this respect to his earlier Angel recording, and it has the additional great advantage of the sensitive and musicianly Demus as pianist in place of the pretentiously fussy Gerald Moore. Thus the pitch-relational balance between voice and piano is quite delicately maintained in all the places where Fischer-Dieskau adopts a restrained vocal approach; but the new musical emphasis also underlines his inherent vocal limitations, for his sound still loses distinction at higher dynamic levels, becoming quite rough and almost pitchless at times. And as ever, the tonal relations among songs stipulated by Schubert are quite capriciously altered to suit immediate vocal convenience, thus disregarding and destroying the most crucial aspect of the work's large-scale development. The recording itself is unusually resonant, noise-free and responsive.

The Wolf Mörike songs are relatively early works that primarily reveal Wolf's skill in shaping compact and functional musical continuities, clearly associative with the Schubert-Schumann tradition, in a considerably expanded range of sonic inflection. But unlike later works, or the special phraseology of Wagner, the external shapes remain conventional, with few original ideas about texture, voice-piano or vocal line-text relation, continuity, contour or rhythm, so that the many striking harmonic nuances seem rather superimposed.

The are a number of interesting exceptions: *Heimweh,* with its precisely measured phrases and counterpointing of the piano's and voice's partitioning of the same articulation space; *Gebet,* with its remarkable harmonic depth; *Verborgenheit,* with its clever development focused on a single initially stated pitch relationship; and *Gesang Weyla's,* with its transference of Wagnerian phrasing into song context and dimension. Prey's selection is generally more distinguished than Lear's and his performances are more careful and considered, if not superior vocally. But Lear's fast tempos and carelessness about inflection result in a skimming of the musical surface that her modest advantage in vocal quality fails to redeem.

BERLIOZ: Requiem, Op. 7. Cesare Valletti, tenor; Temple University Choirs,

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READING A BOOK OF POEMS

I have been reading
a book of poems
looking for a poem
I know is there.
It is about
a streetlight
on the outskirts
of a small town
in North Dakota
where it is dark,
hard dark,
and the snow
is five feet deep.
A car passes through
the light, unnoticed,
heading toward
the black snow fields,
the clack of a loose
link against the
fender fading.
I read them slowly
stacking and unstacking
the words in small
even piles, waiting
for the poem
I know is there
to come.

ROGER MITCHELL

Philadelphia Orchestra; Eugene Ormandy, cond. Columbia M2L 330/M2S 730.

L'Enfance du Christ. Peter Pears, Elsie Morrison, John Cameron, John Frost, Edgar Fleet, soloists. St. Anthony singers; Goldsborough Orchestra; Colin Davis, cond. Oiseau-Lyre (S) OL 60032/3.

Berlioz's Requiem, a work whose originality consists primarily in its sharp differentiation among highly intensified conjunctions of extremes in dynamics, density, tone color and rhythms, is here performed within a narrow range in each of those dimensions, and with the maximum smoothing in every articulative succession. The corresponding absence of sense or sensibilia reveals a great deal more about Ormandy's musical perspicacity than about the Berlioz Requiem. *L'Enfance* is one of Berlioz's few attempts at French genre composition, with its attendant pose of delicacy and restraint. But while the restraint consists mostly of uneventfulness, and the delicacy involves mainly sonorous dilution, the piece does explore a kind of "neo-classic" approach that differs entirely from the Brahms-Schoenberg-Hindemith concept, and associates much more directly with that of Stravinsky (but without inner voices!). The piece poses no problems in performance, and the present group has no difficulty in realizing it.

SCHUBERT: Symphonies (1-9). The Orchestra of Naples; Denis Vaughan, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 6709.

Schubert's capacities as a composer of symphonies were at best limited. Whereas he could create a fully and intensively ramified structure of relationships in a song context, his large works tend to be loosely and incompletely realized, cutting many conventional corners, indulging in unvaried repetition and other space-filling routines to satisfy formal proportions, rather than generating them out of the maximal "composition" of every instant. This, as one might expect, is even truer of the earlier symphonies; except for a locally imaginative sound or connection, all but the last two are completely routine, and even occasionally gauche.

The performances are of the kind that seem to be tolerated by the recording companies only in Complete Editions, presumably on the ground that virtue inheres in numbers—numbers of deficiencies included.

CHOPIN: Four Ballades. Trois Nouvelles Etudes. Vladimir Ashkenazy, piano. London CM 9422/CS 6422.

Concerto No. 2 in F-minor (with Bach: Concerto in D-minor). Vladimir Ashkenazy, piano; London Symphony Orchestra; David Zinman, cond. London CM 9440/CS 6440.

Ashkenazy's Chopin performances contain playing of remarkable delicacy in works that require a great deal more for their ultimate realization. Still, the clarity and accuracy of his score reading permits a perceptive listener to discover for himself the composition within. And the sound produced is quite lovely in itself. The Bach, however, is another matter; the piano is so manifestly the wrong sonority to combine with Bach's orchestra that one wonders why the transcriptive effort is ever made. The problem is entirely different from the solo keyboard works, where the completely internal sonorous relations can be reinterpreted; but where an orchestrational balance is involved — in accompaniment or solo passages—the sense is totally perverted by the presence of a hard, self-assertive piano attack in place of the harpsichord's sharp pluck and immediate absorption thereafter into the string texture.

MOZART: Piano Concertos, Volume I: No. 12 in A, K. 414; No. 18 in B-flat, K. 456; No. 20 in D-minor, K. 466; No. 23 in A, K. 488; No. 24 in C-minor, K. 491; No. 26 in D, K. 537. Lili Kraus, piano; Vienna Festival Orchestra; Stephen Simon, cond. Epic SC 6054/BSC 154.

Eine Kleine Nachtmusik, K. 505; Divertimento, K. 287. Berlin Philharmonic; Herbert von Karajan, cond. DGG 139 004.

Symphonies; No. 29 in A, K. 201; No. 33 in B-flat, K. 319. Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, Herbert von Karajan, cond. DGG 139 002.

The first volume of Epic's projected Mozart concerto series contains a number of later works that are simply too remarkable and original to be entrusted to the "complete-edition" performances they receive here. For aside from a few small, fussy ideas about accents, Lili Kraus demonstrates no apparent concept of the large-

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scale structure of the works, nor any sense of the individual qualities of the interior events; she treats them all as decorative figurations, an even more fatal mistake in Mozart than elsewhere. But additionally, the playing itself, neat enough in easy passages, becomes uneven under the most minimal technical demands, so that scale passages, trills and intricate configurations are frequently smeared and generally unstable. The orchestral playing, too, is adequate only in uncomplicated situations, as in some of the earlier works. Elsewhere, it reveals a typically unprofessional lack of coordination in attacks, and in the haphazard balances in which sonorities pop in and out of different parts of the texture with no apparent control or meaning.

Herbert von Karajan's Mozart recordings seem labors of indifference, smothered in fat sound and sticky articulation. None of these are Mozart's most significant music, of course; the two serenades are about as facile as music can get, with that unvarying felicity of consummate craft whose objectlessness is finally more irritating than impressive: the typical and paradoxical problem of the young Mozart. The two symphonies, however, are certainly among the most interesting of the earlier group, exploratory in sonority and structure far beyond the music characteristic of Mozart's work of this period. Of these, No. 33, more broadly scaled, emerges in proportionately better shape from its subjection to von Karajan's sheer grandness of conception (or is it lofty condescension?). But the difference is superficial at best, and even here the lassitude with which the wonderful Haydn-derived Minuet is performed is really unforgivable.

STRAVINSKY: Violin Concerto (with Bartók: Concerto No. 2). Joseph Silverstein, violin; Boston Symphony Orchestra; Erich Leinsdorf, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 2852.

Mavra. Joan Carlyle, Kenneth MacDonald, Helen Watts, Monica Sinclair, vocal soloists. *Renard.* Gerald English, John Mitchison, Peter Glossop, Joseph Rouleau, vocal soloists. L'Orchestre de la Suisse Romande; Ernest Ansermet, cond. London CM 5929/OS 25929.

Ansermet's principal contribution as a performer of the Stravinsky literature has been his remarkable capacity to make it seem rhythmically neutral and sonically dull. *Renard* is particularly astonishing in this regard, plodding along as no one acquainted with either the old Craft (Dial) or newer Stravinsky (Columbia) recordings could imagine possible. But since *Mavra,* Stravinsky's only, if rather limited exploration of the possibilities of bel-canto continuity, is otherwise unavailable (the long out-of-print Craft-Dial having been the only earlier recording), the present recording is useful despite its marginal performance of that work as well.

Stravinsky's violin concerto is one of those works of the twenties and thirties in which he focused single-mindedly on large-scale relations by developing through successions of continuously "patterned" rather than highly differentiated sectional interiors. This approach requires a precision of balance, sonority and attack in performance for which the Boston Symphony's customary scale of quantification is simply too crude. Silverstein's playing is more precise in pitch and rhythm, if not dynamics, but his sound in both the Stravinsky and Bartók works is too small and unvaried to assert a significant instrumental or interpretive presence. In the Bartók concerto, with its strange, aimless continuity wandering among reminiscences of many diverse 20th-century textures from Strauss to Schoenberg, and its typically confused and capricious orchestration (Bartók's weakest point in any case), the tendencies toward incoherence seem emphasized by the orchestral imbalances (the percussion and brass writing are not quite as primitive as they are made to sound), and the neutrality of Silverstein's technique.

MENDELSSOHN: Violin Concerto. Tchaikovsky: Violin Concerto. Erick Friedman, violin. London Symphony Orchestra; Seiji Ozawa, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 2865.

Erick Friedman's playing reveals a high degree of intonational and digital competence, if not quite the subtlety required by the Mendelssohn concerto. The orchestra, too, is quite competently controlled and balanced; its sound is voluminous and full, though not as flexible or distinguished as those of the Philharmonia or B.B.C. Orchestras. In any case, Seiji Ozawa demonstrates an impressive ability to shape transitions, and to project precise distinctions in articulation, clear rhythmic shapes and individual sonorous qualities. Together, Ozawa and Friedman are obviously capable of conceiving and shaping individual events effectively, but they don't seem to have considered the special qualities of the total continuity as well. This is particularly evident in the Mendelssohn; in the Tchaikovsky, their approach is better planned in its "saving" of sonority and volume, so that further extremities always remain available; this restraint, while it does emphasize the minimal eventfulness and serious overextension of the work, projects the continuousness of its unfolding more convincingly than I have heard in performances elsewhere.

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